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WILLIAM BURR'S MOVING PANORAMA OF THE GREAT LAKES, THE NIAGARA, ST. LAWRENCE AND SAGUENAY RIVERS

By Joseph Earl Arrington

Much of the early history of North America is linked-up with that of the St. Lawrence waterway, the cradle of New France and the fur trade's route to the interior. When in time the warring empires of France and Britain were followed by the American republic and the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, the waterway became an important factor in the commercial rivalry of the two peoples striving to develop the resources of the St. Lawrence borderlands and the vast territories beyond. After 1815 improvements in steam navigation were matched by the improvement of the waterway through dredging and canal construction. At the same time Canada West and the states tributary to the St. Lawrence system were growing in population and wealth by leaps and bounds, further enhancing the importance of the waterway as an artery of commerce and travel. By the late forties the waterway had benefitted from a costly round of construction undertaken by the Province of Canada and it stood at the peak of its influence, its importance as yet undimmed by the dawning railway age.[1]

Equally the advancing nineteenth century saw in America a great diffusion in mass education, an intensified vicarious interest and curiosity about the world scene, an alert and widely-read public press which was creating the mass audience. In such an atmosphere the art-form known as the moving panorama enjoyed widespread popularity for the space of a generation. The panorama was a pre-photographic ancestor of the motion picture, capable of satisfying public interest through offering lengthy, continuous, or successive visual representations of world geography and human culture in their various forms. Travel and scenic wonders were especially popular. Early in the century British artists had begun to depict characteristic scenes of rivers like the Clyde or Thames upon rolls of canvas. These peripatetic panoramas could then be displayed before public assemblies, each "frame" in turn showing a different scene or aspect of the route and the entire presentation being supplemented by explanatory lectures or other entertainment. Artists from Britain and America introduced this pictorial type to the United States and Canada. The American school of panorama painting reached a high point in the 1840's when John Rowson Smith, Samuel A. Hudson, John Banvard, Samuel B. Stockwell, Leon de Pomarede and Henry Lewis depicted on roll after roll of canvas the

1. Donald Creighton, *The Empire of the St. Lawrence* (Toronto, 1956); Harold M. Mayer, *The Port of Chicago and the St. Lawrence Seaway* (Chicago, 1957); Carl Wittke, *A History of Canada (New York,* 1941); Ellen C. Semple, *American History and Its Geographic Conditions* (Boston, 1903); Nathaniel S. Shaler, *Nature and Man in America* (New York, 1906).

majestic Mississippi, Missouri and Ohio Rivers. Then in 1848-49 William Burr portrayed the great St. Lawrence system from Lake Erie to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which Mathurin Arthur Andrieu later continued from the Great Lakes down the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers to the Gulf of Mexico, thus making the painted waterway scenes of continental length.[2]

Burr was born December 24, 1810 at Fairfield, Connecticut, the son of Ebenezer Burr, a large landowner and relative of the notorious Aaron Burr, vice president of the United States from 1801 to 1805. We know only a few facts about William Burr. He married Priscilla Bradley of Greenfield, Connecticut, and had two sons, John, who later moved to Missouri, and William L., later a resident of Westport, Connecticut. He was also an ingenious mechanician, the "inventor of the casement iron-clad system for sheathing vessels with iron", who claimed credit for some of the original plans in the Monitor-Merrimac type of vessel used in the Civil War. When the panorama project was launched in 1848, Burr was living in New York City, and was almost certainly the owner, or co-owner, of the firm of Burr, Waterman & Co., manufacturers of patent iron-blocks. In 1855 the firm's name was changed to Burr & Co., and it continued in operation until 1875-6. Burr himself died in the prime of life, leaving a large estate in Connecticut.[3]

In executing the panorama Burr "was aided by four of the most eminent artists in the country". Elias Paul Barnes, the main artist and only one publicly credited for his work, was selected to sketch and paint the panorama. Barnes appears first in the New Haven, Connecticut, directory in 1840 as an ornamental painter and he continued to reside in that city until 1864-5, apart from the period 1847-1853 when he was engaged on panoramas and lived in New York. He painted the canopy for a large-scale model of New York City which Ezekiel Porter Belden produced between 1846 and 1850 for exhibition purposes. Then after finishing and showing the St. Lawrence Mirror, he executed in 1852 a third panorama, "The Great Historical Mirror of America", which was put on view in New England. None of his art-works seem to have survived, except a signed, unidentified portrait done in 1842 and found in Woodbury, Connecticut, in 1933.[4]

More is known about Joseph Kyle, Burr's second chief artist, who was born in Ohio in 1815 and "Spent his childhood in that State and in Kentucky. At the age of twenty [he] went to Philadelphia and entered the

2. John Francis McDermott, *Lost Panoramas of the Mississippi* (Chicago, 1958); the writer's "John Banvard's Moving Panorama of the Mississippi, Missouri and Ohio Rivers", in *Filson Club History Quarterly* (Louisville, Kentucky), July, 1958.

3. Charles Burr Todd, *A General History of the Burr Family in America* (New York, 1878), 217; Longsworth's *Directory of New York City*, 1849-1875; George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *Dictionary of the Artist in America* (New Haven, 1957), 97; *Commemorative Biographical Record of Fairfield County, Conn.* (Chicago, 1899), 776.

4. William Burr's playbill of the Seven Mile Mirror, Amory Hall, Boston, 1850 (hereafter cited as BOSTON PLAYBILL), copy in New York Historical Society; Patten's New Haven Directory, 1840-1865; Ezekiel Porter Belden, *New York: Past Present and Future* (New York, 1849), 6-7; *Boston Transcript*, June 29, 1852; Groce, G. C., and Wallace, D.H., *op. cit.*, 30, 96; *Art in America and Elsewhere*, December 1933.

studio of Thomas Sully, [and was] afterwards with Bass Otis. He established a studio of his own in the Quaker City", where he lived from 1834 to 1845, and then from about 1846 he set up his own studio as a portrait and historical painter in New York. There in 1849 he became a member of the National Academy of Design, submitting a self-portrait as representative of his work. He was a regular exhibitor at the Pennsylvania Academy, the American Art Union, and the National Academy. Besides his work on the St. Lawrence panorama he contributed to several other such works during the course of the next decade, including one of the Mississippi River (John Rowson Smith's?), May's Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Skirving's Fremont's Overland Route to California, Frankenstein's Panorama of Niagara Falls, Ball's Panorama of New York, and Ramon Paez's Illustration of Central America. When interest in panoramas began to diminish after 1858, Kyle returned to his portraiture, to the regret of friends who classed him "among the few of our artists, who were born for another sphere in art. With the lamented Dallas, he wrought those magnificent series of panoramas which have never been, and never may be equalled". He died November 27, 1863 in New York City, leaving art works much appreciated. A number of his portraits survive in the United States: Portrait Group (Philadelphia, 1837) in Sear's Academy of Fine Arts, Elgin, Illinois; Lucretia Coffin Mott (Philadelphia, 1841) in Charles Norton Collection, Chicago; Self-Portrait (New York, 1849), and Jacob Dallas (New York, 1854), both in the National Academy of Design in New York; Self-Portrait (New York, 1859) and Portrait of a Lady (New York, 1861), both in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Portrait of Governor George Wolf of Pennsylvania, in the Pennsylvania Historical Society; and Portrait of D. Bowen, in the collection of the Bostonian Society.[5]

Jacob A. Dallas, referred to above, was related to Kyle and in all probability was another of the artists engaged on the panorama, though this is not officially recorded. Born in Philadelphia in 1825, the son of an eminent merchant and cousin of George M. Dallas, the American minister to England, Dallas moved to Missouri in 1833 and graduated at Ames College ten years later. Afterwards he returned to Philadelphia and entered the Pennsylvania Academy, where, like Kyle, he studied painting under Bass Otis. Both men then moved to New York in the late forties and worked

5. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), "Retrospective Exhibition of American Paintings," November, 1895, in *Handbook No.* 6, page 61; Mary Bartlett Cowdery, *National Academy of Design—Exhibition Record,* 1826-1860 (New York, 1943), I, 280-1, and *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art Union—Exhibition Record, 1816-1852* (New York, 1953), 219; Groce, G. C. and Wallace, D. H. *op. cit.,* 379; Letter of Vernon C. Porter, Director, National Academy of Design, to the writer, February 27, 1959; *Detroit Advertiser,* November 28, 1854; *The Home Journal* (New York), March 20, 1858; *New York Herald,* January 25, 1854, November 4, 1858; *A Descriptive Catalogue of Bunyan's Tableau* (Albany, 1867); *Description of Col. Fremont's Overland Route to Oregon and California.* (Bloomsbury, n.d.); *New York Atlas,* July 17, 1853; *Mobile* (Alabama) *Register,* December 8, 1857; *New York Post,* November 28, 1863; *American Art Annual* (Washington, D.C., 1920), XVII, 307; Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Bulletin,* February, 1906, and *Life in America,* 1939, No. 119; *Historical Society of Philadelphia—Catalogue of Paintings* (1872), 43, item 144.

together on several panoramas. Dallas was also a book illustrator, his drawings being known for their fine execution and humorous touches. He died in New York on September 9, 1857, still a young man and beloved by the profession.[6]

Following the example of the Mississippi panoramists, Burr and several competent painters, notably Barnes, went to Buffalo early in the spring of 1848 to take on-the-spot sketches "for a gigantic movable panorama". There they made drawings of the city on Lake Erie and of the Niagara River, starting at Fort Erie and walking "the whole distance from Lake Erie along the banks of the Niagara to Lake Ontario, making full drawings of the entire range of scenery". Besides the fatigue, there were perils in climbing cliffs and dangers from snakes, but there were artistic compensations. Sketching from a boat would show only one shoreline, whereas the sketches from the high banks enabled "the spectator to view both the American and Canadian shores, with the beautiful river flowing between them, and all embraced in one view", taken from the Canadian side. The most exciting section, and also that "most trying to the skill of the artists" was at Niagara Falls. They also undertook the difficult task of drawing the great whirlpool at the foot of the falls. The Suspension Bridge was then under construction, so the engineer Charles Ellet took the sketchers across the chasm in a car slung on a single wire cable which afforded them a view from above. Then came the hazardous descent below the falls, "around the northern verge of the whirlpool to profile rock, on the Canadian side", and down the cliffs to the margins of the flood just opposite the outlet of the whirlpool. A large rock, rising eight feet above the water, was the spot from which the artists took their sketches of the falls.[7]

After completing the remainder of the Niagara River to Lake Ontario, the proprietor "fitted up a vessel, and with pilot, crew and all necessary conveniences for the artists, proceeded to complete the drawings" as far as Quebec. The route followed the south shore of the lake to Hamilton, then the western coast to Toronto, and eastward along the northern shoreline of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River. They arrived at Quebec early in the summer and prepared for the next stage. The Canadian press followed the project with interest. On July 10 it was reported from Quebec: "Mr. W. Burr, from the city of New York, [accompanied by superior artists] has, after a long and dangerous passage of several months through the great Western Lakes, Niagara River, Lake Ontario and St. Lawrence, arrived in this city. They have made drawings and sketches through the route, and have chartered a schooner, fitted her out with stores and suitable guides, and are continuing their way down the St. Lawrence to

6. Groce, G. C., and Wallace, D. H., *op. cit.*, 162; *New York Tribune*, September 12, 1857; *The Crayon* (New York), October 1857.

7. *New York Tribune*, December 3, 1849; *New York Albion*, September 30, 1848; [William Burr] *Descriptive and Historical View of the Seven Mile Mirror of the Lakes, Niagara, St. Lawrence and Saguenay Rivers* (New York, 1854), 3, 8, 15 (hereafter cited as GUIDE, 1854); *New York Post*, October 17, 1849; *Holden's Dollar Magazine* (New York), October, 1850.

the Saguenay, will ascend that . . . river, and from thence continue down the St. Lawrence to the Gulf and Atlantic, which will complete their whole line of sketches, forming one continuous view." The artists did not finish their work on the Saguenay until late in the autumn, "ending the voyage amid the snow and ice which so abound in that region". Thus the four seasons were included in the preliminary sketches for the St. Lawrence panorama.[8]

The four hundred or more drawings were rough in form because they had been "taken under many inconveniences" and were "intended rather as notes from which the painting is to be executed than as works of art themselves". However those who examined these sketches found "an unmistakable air of truth about them, as well as much judgement shown in the selection of the scenes". What they lacked in finish was filled in with "all the requisite memoranda, made by the artists on the spot and at the moment". The aim was to draw carefully a truthful representation of nature by "coloring and tinting every object on the spot". The range of the drawings afforded evidence of "the scale and style of Mr. Burr's proposed panorama", revealing "the vastness of the designs of the picture" for "a stupendous work of art".[9]

Before the end of September 1848 the artists had returned to New York with their portfolios of drawings and set up their studio to transfer them to canvas. "Mr. Burr, personally superintended the painting" activities, the work being assigned so that "the sky, the water, the foliage, the shipping and the figures, are each handled by an artist most skilled in that particular branch". This division of labour gave the paintings a quality not attained by some other unorganized or hurried panoramists. W. Young, the editor of the *New York Albion,* became much interested in the Canadian project and made periodic reports upon its progress. In September 1848 he "visited the studio in which the work is now being carried on and there formed . . . favorable impressions" of it. Since the finished parts were rolled up, he found "not much in quantity can be seen at one time, but a small sample satisfied [him] as to the style" and skill of the work. He reported that the artists were following their sketching route, commencing with Buffalo, but they had reserved the important but most difficult views of Niagara Falls "to the last, in order that the practiced hand of the painters may give them the fullest possible effect".[10]

When the editor returned to "the retired atelier" in February 1849, four months later, he found that "a view of Quebec from Point Levi was

8. GUIDE, 1854, 3, 41; [William Burr] *Descriptive and Historical View of Burr's Moving Mirror of the Lakes* (New York, 1850), iv. (hereafter cited as GUIDE, 1850).

9. *New York Albion,* September 30, 1848; GUIDE, 1850, iii, 45; *New York Tribune,* December 3, 1849; *New York Herald,* October 31, 1849; *New York Star,* October 23, 1849.

10. *New York Courier and Enquirer,* October, 24, 1849; *New York Albion,* September 30, 1848, February 10, 1849; *Boston Transcript,* June 10, 1850. Also BOSTON PLAYBILL.

at the moment under treatment" and he gave his opinion, on the basis of the two specimens observed, that the panorama showed promise of becoming "the most perfect and artistic thing of the kind that has ever been exhibited to the public". The proprietor assured him "that equal pains and equal skill have been and will be bestowed throughout". Indeed, Burr was expending considerable capital on the enterprise and allowing his artists all the time needed to create a painting of intrinsic merit as well as a popular work.[11]

Not until September 1849 was the painting completed, by which time the proprietor had "expended over $30,000 and devoted two years of constant labor" in its production. It afforded its creators much satisfaction in being "a Grand Mammoth Painting, which is intended to exceed in extent, style, execution, &c., anything of the kind ever exhibited in America". A hope, held in common with other panoramists, was that the work would warrant being displayed in Britain. Those who followed the progress of the artists felt that a signal monument of "American taste and skill" had been created, one assured of "a good reception in London", should it ever be taken there.[12]

The panorama was painted upon rolls of canvas of enormous size. The width or height was fifteen feet, but its exact length is indefinite. To gain advantage over John Banvard's famous Three Mile Panorama, Burr advertised his work as having "nearly seven miles of canvas", that is, a surface area of 36,960 square feet and a length of 2,464 feet. At the same time, however, he also claimed that it "exhibits 30,000 more square feet than Banvard's panorama", thus giving it the larger dimensions of 45,840 square feet and a length of 3,056 feet. The claims of some handbills that it covered 100 acres of canvas reduces in the final analysis to about one acre of canvas surface, a most impressive achievement even when stripped of the press agent's hyperbole.[13]

Viewers found the panorama "a continuous representation of all the interesting and remarkable rivers on the route from Buffalo to the Gulf of St. Lawrence". Upon the painted waterway rode "ships, rafts, steamers and boats of every variety, detailing all modes and manners of eventful life", some 300 vessels in all. The adjoining countryside was also depicted in order "to present a faithful delineation of an extent of country so varied in its general features", "all the bold, abrupt and grand objects of nature" being displayed as well as the more normal aspects of the shore. Realism was the keynote: "the spirit of every spot is caught and depicted with admirable truth; and the Great Lakes and mighty mountains and rivers are clothed with terrific attributes". For persons of a practical bent there were

11. *New York Albion,* February 10, 1849.
12. New York Herald, September 17, 20, 1849; GUIDE, 1850, iii, iv.; *Boston Transcript,* May 27, 1850; *New York Albion,* September, 29, 1849; *New York Times and Messenger,* October 21, 1849; *New York Tribune,* September 17, 1849.
13. *Boston Transcript,* February 2, 1850; New York Herald, October 31, 1849. Also BOSTON PLAYBILL.

displayed "the stupendous resources of this region", for lovers of art and nature an "unbroken chain of beauty and sublimity". Above all the panorama was instructive; the international boundary and "every object of interest connected with Canada and America is illustrated". There were "vestiges of ancient civilization[s], situated between Lake Erie and the Gulf of St. Lawrence; the commercial enterprise of the towns on the lakes; the railroads; the agricultural wealth of colonial possessions . . . investigated minutely by the artist and . . . stamped . . . upon canvass with a seal of power". "The beautiful cities of Canada pass before the eye" and "The records of Canadian improvement are everywhere visible [in] the canals, harbors, light houses, and cities". Altogether the panorama displayed "200 cities and villages, over 100,000 buildings" and 500,000 different localities and objects. Upon the vast canvas were included lakes, bays, rivers, harbors, canals and bridges; falls, rapids, islands and points; ships, rafts, steamboats and canoes; mountains, hills, plateaus, shores and capes; cities, towns, villages and residences; towers, lighthouses, churches, cathedrals, fortifications, monuments, battlefields, walls and ruins.[14]

Some idea of the artistic qualities is gained from those who saw it and formed impressions about its drawing, coloring and composition. Some viewers, familiar with the region, mentioned "the marvellous and faithful transcript" of the river scenes, even to "the exact condition of the public buildings and private residences". Others commented that the scenes were "depicted with an accuracy and a brilliance", so that "every object stands out from the canvas like a thing of life"; that "the whole range of scenery, including almost every object and place, however minute, on both shores from Lake Erie to the Atlantic Ocean", was depicted with care and truthfulness. True, there were critics who pointed out occasional lapses where the painting was poor or exaggerated, such as "the grounds of the Clifton House at Niagara, the waves of the whirlpool, and an occasional hurly-burly of clouds", all occurring near the beginning of the panorama. Generally, however, the work was found "free from the deformities" usually associated with this type of painting; and the artists were acclaimed for the pride they had displayed in their work, and the product "for beauty of execution, correctness of detail and artistic merit".[15]

To careful drawing was added alluring but accurate coloring. The artists were praised for their effects, as "the arbiter[s]of times and seasons" where nature was "set in a framework of summer's green, and autumn's gold", and the "grand phenomenon of the heavens, as well as the structure of seas and continents are seen. The fountain of color which gives azure to his sky, and verdure to his fields, is luminous with splendor".

14. *New York Tribune,* November 6, 1849; *New York Courier,* October 15, 17, 26, 1849; *Boston Transcript,* January 1, 1851; *New York Post,* October 17, 24, 1849; *New York Times,* September 30, November 11, December 9, 1849; *New York Star,* October 27, 1849; GUIDE, 1854, 45.

15. GUIDE, 1850, 47, 48; GUIDE, 1854, 21, 46; *New York Albion,* September 29, 1849; *New York Tribune,* November 10, 1849; *Detroit Advertiser,* November 28, 1854; *Boston Transcript,* June 10, 1850.

Informed observers mentioned "its fidelity, for the color of the waters, the face of the country, the tints of the flowers, the hues of the foliage and shrubbery". In the panorama could be seen the clay-colored tributary streams, "the emerald green of Niagara; the inky blackness of the writhing whirlpool... the tumultuous and ever raging waters of the Ontario; the smooth and glassy St. Lawrence", and finally, the fathomless, ill-illuminated, and leaden or black Saguenay. There was a succession of harmonies of colors in nature under a wilderness sky.[16]

The great length and scope of the panorama necessitated careful selection and planning to make of it an art-work with pleasing compositions. In the long, irregular, realistic voyage, the separate scenes had somehow to be related into a harmonious whole. At a proper distance, not too near the canvas, it was "plainly visible that each part contained in the frame in view is a picture in itself and each move of the canvass produces a new one". The viewer could easily feel that a "splendid painting gallery" was passing before his eyes. The river itself provided some unity of subject matter, from the striking prologue of Niagara, to the central fairy land of the Thousand Islands and the spectacular postscript of the Saguenay. The order of the presentation, however, alternated in the successive showings as the canvas was being either rolled or unrolled before the audiences. Then the painters "selected objects of curiosity and scenes of the most thrilling interest, innumerable modes of artistic combination, vales on vales of Emerald, mountains on mountains of Amethyst, streams of Silver, [which] are not huddled confusedly together, but stretched out into a comprehensive and grand picture". Two thousand miles of "rich, varied and historically interesting scenery" pass before the viewers, "all combined in harmonious grouping, colouring and effect", to form an "elevating composition accommodated to the most intellectual tastes and cultivated desires."[17]

So large was the panorama that the proprietor found it necessary to divide it into six sections or parts, each wound on a cylinder and changed at the drop of the stage curtain, an operation necessitating two minutes interval between sections. Though the panorama itself has vanished long ago, it is still possible to tell in detail the precise contents of these six sections, for several descriptions survive. There are the two guide books, William Burr's of 1850, and Josiah Perham's edition of 1854; two playbills for showings in Boston (1850) and New York (1853-4); and numerous press reports from the various cities at which the work was displayed.[18]

The first section was devoted exclusively to both sides of the Niagara River and was dominated by the famous Niagara Falls. It opened with

16. *New York Post,* October 19, November 8, 1849; *New York Courier,* October 24, 1849; GUIDE, 1850, 48; *New York Albion,* September 29, 1849.

17. Washington, D.C., *National Intelligencer,* March 3, 1852; *New York Tribune,* October 18, 22, 1849; *New York Courier,* October 16, 1849; *New York Post,* October, 19, 1849.

18. *New York Albion,* September 29, 1849; [William Burr] *Playbill of the Panorama of the Lakes,* etc. (New York, 1853-4), copy in New York Historical Society (hereafter cited as NEW YORK PLAYBILL).

views of the eastern end of Lake Erie and Buffalo, Queen City of the Lakes, with its 40,000 inhabitants, its extensive harbour, breakwater and lighthouse and its strategic location near the head of the Niagara River and the Erie Canal. Just north of Buffalo was Fort Erie, a mass of ruins, then three miles below it, Black Rock dam, the feeder of the Erie Canal which appeared next in a "minute and accurate view", crowded by boats laden with western produce. Twenty miles below Buffalo the Chippewa battleground of 1814 was depicted, including remains of houses, ruins of English batteries, and the abutments of a destroyed American bridge. The famous Niagara Falls was shown in full detail, "with its combination of scenery" and "charming vistas among the British islands, blending in the most gorgeous manner the picturesque variety". The falls themselves reportedly had "never been so well daguerreotyped" nor "had so much justice done it before" in the way of painting. Viewers were awed before the canvas and listened for the real roar of the falling waters. The whirlpool below formed another attractive spectacle with a splendid view of the great cable suspension bridge (drawn from the engineer's plans). The "extended view of Niagara Falls" was judged to excel in its bold treatment "any previous painting of the great cataract, and gives the beholder a correct idea of the original".[19]

In the vicinity of the falls were Niagara Falls Village, just above on the American side, and City of the Falls and Clifton Village on the Canadian side, with their hotels, resorts and observation points. Next came Lundy's Lane, site of the battle, Devil's Hole or Bloody Run, a chasm half a mile below the whirlpool, Hewlett's Cellar, a mile further downstream, then Queenston Heights with its old and dilapidated monument to General Brock. Below these were Lewiston and Queenston with its dockyard, and above the town, Fort George, dismantled and in ruins. At the mouth of the river were the British Fort Mississauga and the American Fort Niagara, both of which had seen French, British and American flags flying above their ramparts.[20]

The second section of the panorama traced the Canadian shore of Lake Ontario. West from the mouth of the Niagara River were the pleasing villages of Niagara and Port Dalhousie, at the mouth of the Welland Canal. At the head of the lake was the enterprising city of Hamilton with its 7,000 inhabitants, in the background the picturesque baronial Dundurn Castle of Sir Allan MacNab in a superb landscape setting. Representative of the pastoral scenery of the northwestern shore of Lake Ontario were the villages of Wellington Square, Port Credit and Oakville. The rapidly-growing city of Toronto, with 25,000 inhabitants and the third largest city of Canada, constituted the central feature of this section. Its lake front at a distance formed a "grand spectacle" as the snow-like waves on the sur-

19. *New York Tribune*, October 15, 30, 1849; *Boston Transcript*, March 19, June 4, 1850; GUIDE, 1854, 48.
20. BOSTON PLAYBILL; NEW YORK PLAYBILL; *New York Tribune*, October 30, 1849; *New York Albion*, September 30, 1848.

face broke along the shore. The painting depicted a city "thoroughly English in appearance, and well paved and lighted", with residences and public buildings "constructed in a substantial and elegant manner". The value of this excellent view of Toronto was all the greater "in as much as it shows the city from the lake, previously to the last disastrous fire". Below Toronto some typical towns were shown, notably Port Hope and Cobourg. At Port Hope in a cleverly-executed scene viewers were presented with "a shadowy and magnificent coup d'oeil of a storm on Lake Ontario". . . . "The famous ship *Samson*, struggling with the heaving sea and belching storm . . . presents, with the *Royal Mail Steamer* in the distance, a most thrilling spectacle". The section concluded with a picturesque group of islands above Kingston, with Snake Island and the provincial penitentiary being identified.[21]

The third section traced the St. Lawrence proper, depicting both its shores and commencing with an imposing view of Kingston, a city with 12,000 population, "surrounded by martello towers" and stern "impregnable fortifications". High on a rocky ridge overlooking Navy Bay on the east side stood Fort Henry, next only to Quebec and Halifax as British American strongholds. This view also showed the upper terminus of the Rideau Canal to Bytown on the Ottawa, one hundred miles distant. The shapes, foliage and positions of the innumerable Thousand Islands, apparently floating upon the bosom of the wide stream, were so enchanting as to evoke the poetic feelings of visiting literary men. In the panorama they were shown "with a picturesque boldness and spirit worthy of their romantic celebriety". Below the Thousand Islands the scenery varied from the ordinary rural farms and settlements to physical features of particular grandeur. Brockville, having its houses "built with considerable taste", was shown by moonlight. One mile from Prescott, Windmill Point was depicted at sunrise—its ruined mill and roofless stone houses grim reminders of the 1837 Rebellion. A bird's eye view of Ogdensburg on the New York side was shown at sunrise—"a bustling, go-ahead town" with snug dwellings, handsome flower gardens and the inhabitants a-stir with industry. Some observers felt that Ogdensburg as "seen in perspective is one of the neatest views" of the whole work. Below, the painters delineated the various rapids and bypassing canals. Boats were seen plunging the foaming billows of Gallop Rapids, a "grand and sublime spectacle". Rafts of logs and sawn timber, characteristic of the locality, were displayed in different situations. Below Cornwall on the American side the Indian village of St. Regis was shown, affording an opportunity to display the life and hunting grounds of the Indians. Here too occurred a further lesson in geography; since the 45th parallel marked the international boundary in this locality, "the dividing line [was] accurately drawn on the foreground of the panorama" scene. And here ended section three.[22]

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21. *New York Courier,* October 15, 1849; GUIDE, 1854, 18; *New York Albion,* September 29, 1849; NEW YORK PLAYBILL; *New York Times,* October 28, 1849.
22. GUIDE, 1854, 18, 20, 21, 22; *New York Albion,* September 29, 1849; *New York Star,* October 19, 1849.

With section four the panorama entered Lower Canada or Canada East, Montreal being the featured landmark. The opening scene, at the head of Lake St. Francis, showed the monument to Sir John Colborne, Governor-in-Chief of Canada, after which the steamboat landing of Lancaster, the village of Coteau du Lac, the Cedars and Cascade Rapids, as well as the sixteen-mile long Beauharnois Canal were all presented. At Lake St. Louis one of the three mouths of the Ottawa pours its earth-coloured waters into the St. Lawrence, hard by the village and shrine of St. Anne, patron saint of sailors, and the Iroquois "Village of the Rapids". The Lachine (or Sault St. Louis) Rapids and Canal, which carried the canvas to Montreal, were drawn with particular skill, "Lachine with the wreck of the steamer *Dawn* being a perfect masterpiece of effect".[23]

From the village of Laprairie with its pioneer railroad, viewers were offered the imposing spectacle of Montreal, commercial emporium and at that time capital of the Province of Canada. Painted in the foreground, in midchannel, was St. Helen's Island, its fortifications visible in the woods. Then came the massive stone quay and warehouses along the river front. Prominently displayed were the great Cathedral of Notre Dame, St. Patrick's Church, the Parliament Building, the Hotel Dieu, and Lord Nelson's monument. The streets were clean, spacious, gas-lighted, and along them were some elegant stores. In the background loomed Mount Royal with its villas, a colourful backdrop to the scene. The painting of Montreal was "beautifully represented", the public buildings carefully "imparted to the canvass, with their antique architecture, giving a grand and captivating effect", and every house was "colored and tinted according to its exact appearance". Leaving Montreal, the painting showed the suburban Military Hospital and Molson's Brewery, Longeuil village and the Rapids of St. Mary, then village upon village of rural French Canada, echoing the simple, peaceful, hospitable, devout life of the inhabitants. At Varennes the scene was varied by the mineral springs and in the distance by "the Holy Mountain, its summit crowned with the pilgrim's cross", one hundred feet high and sheathed in gleaming tin. On Lake St. Peter the panorama depicted four steamers—the *Montreal, Lady Elgin, Quebec* and *John Munn*—in the course of a spirited race to reach Quebec, the sight "forming a very imposing scene". Near Three Rivers was to be seen "a gigantic raft, with canvass sails spread", and moving downstream, the river was painted "in the evening tints and brilliant sky".[24]

The fifth section followed the St. Lawrence River into the Gulf, and featured the unique, historic city of Quebec. As the river flowed downstream the banks grew steeper, and from Cape Rouge by moonlight the first distant view of the Quebec citadel emerged, followed by Wolfe's Cove, the monument and martello tower, and in the background the Plains of Abraham. Next the world-renowned "Citadel and City of Quebec appear

23. *New York Albion,* September 29, 1849; GUIDE, 1854, 44.
24. *New York Star,* October 19, 1849; *New York Tribune,* October 27, 1849; GUIDE, 1854, 28-9; BOSTON PLAYBILL; *New York Albion,* September 29, 1849.

in full view at sunrise", together with the St. Roch suburbs along the St. Charles River. Then came the busy river basin, extending nineteen miles downstream to the Island of Orleans and large enough to shelter the whole British navy, its coves packed with timber for local shipyards or shipment abroad, its surface punctuated by the numerous vessels riding at anchor. On the hill slopes was the lower city and at the summit of Cape Diamond, 350 feet above the river, the triumphant citadel, the Gibraltar of North America, entered through a succession of massive zigzag gates, each heavily guarded by cannons. The mass of the city's small houses was surmounted by church towers and domes of public buildings, and above these again, the vast colourful sky overhead.[25]

Passing Quebec, the painting offered close views of the square-rigged, white-sailed timber ships, about 1500 of which arrived in the harbour annually. Past Beauport viewers were given "a splendid view of Montmorenci Falls" plunging furiously down a 250 foot precipice, a sheet of fleecy whiteness against the cliffs, and a rainbow at its base. Observers considered the falls "beautifully represented" and "capitally painted", along with a picturesque glen on the left and the Duke of Kent's castle on the hillside. Beyond the Island of Orleans the panorama showed a series of villages, glimpses of bold promontories, islands, and shoals crowned by lighthouses or markers. At length, 140 miles below Quebec, in Tadoussac Harbor, the portals of the Saguenay are reached and here the St. Lawrence merges into the widening gulf.[26]

The sixth and final portion of the panorama featured an ascent of the Saguenay River, for 100 miles to the outlet of Lake St. John. The lower river was depicted with "a sublime and startling view of a continuous range of towering mountains, on both sides of the river", rising precipitously 1,500 to 2,000 feet above the seemingly fathomless waters, where passing ships moved so close to the walls that passengers could touch them. The river was a scenic wonder, at once striking, strange, amazing, terrifying, overpowering. On it "the wild waters urge their way through stupendous structures of overhanging cliffs and rocks, at the base of which the foaming surges sweep, reflecting the broad flashing light over rich grouping of objects", that included towering islands with human images in stone and the occasional encounter of sea whale and sword fish in the water. The upper part of the river ran through pine, fir and spruce-covered hills, with many rapids, waterfalls and channels navigable by canoe alone. At length the painted view arrived at Ha Ha or Grand Bay, a sheltered harbour for ships, and Chicoutimi Channel, extending to a town of the same name near the Great Rapids below Lake St. John. At Chicoutimi were "boats on ice propelled by wind", offering a frontier and wintery conclusion to the Saguenay section.[27]

25. BOSTON PLAYBILL; *The Knickerbocker* (New York), December, 1851.
26. *New York Star,* September 18, October 19, 1849; *New York Albion,* September 29, 1849.
27. *New York Herald,* October 31, 1849; *New York Tribune,* October 15, 24, 1849; GUIDE, 1854, cover; NEW YORK PLAYBILL.

The Saguenay formed a superb climax to the whole panorama that held and even intensified viewers' attention to the very last scene. It was "one of the grandest in point of scenery" and according to one critic was "worth all the rest put together. The rocky scenes of the lofty mountains, that are cut through by this magnificent stream, are given with an air of truth and vigor that really astonishes us". Viewers were "startled at beholding the stupendous and awful masonry of its granite banks", like "the awful Pillars of the Universe", that seemingly "bid defiance to the laws of gravitation" and "whose lofty summits pierce the sky, and apparently shutting off all communication with the rest of the world", except when "the Aurora Borealis flash up in the heavens and fill the earth with lurid and fitful flames" that relieve the gloom and cast occasional light upon the waters.[28]

Burr's panorama was exhibited for the first time in New York City, opening at the Minerva Rooms, 406 Broadway, on September 18, 1849. Advertisements in the press stressed its timeliness, since "the public are so much interested in the movements of our brother neighbors" in Canada. Showings were given at 7:30 p.m. daily, the charge being 25 cents for adults and half price for children. Handbills and guide books were also prepared. The painting "passes steadily before the eye of the spectator for a space of two hours", "the brilliantly illuminated canvas" throwing the scenery into broad relief. The views were supplemented by explanations supplied by the proprietor, artist, or other competent narrator, and the moving scenes were "enlivened by beautiful music, executed by the celebrated Professor Van Der Weyde on one of T. Gilbert & Co.'s aeolian pianos". A highly respectable audience attended the premiere showing, and, much delighted, pronounced the panorama one of "the greatest triumphs in art yet presented to the American public". The news spread, and such large crowds were attracted to the spectacle in September that some editors ventured early predictions that "100,000 people will view it in New York".[29]

In October the throngs continued to increase, and Wednesday and Saturday matinees were instituted as regular parts of the schedule. Some 900 school children attended on October 3 to view a composition that (so it was asserted) "will do more to instruct children . . . than all the printed accounts and geographic maps" together, and by the following week it was necessary to offer a third matinee performance to meet audience needs. The nightly sessions were also crowded with viewers, some of whom went to the hall more than once. During the third week more than 7,000 persons visited "the colossal moving mirror" of Canada, as "its relations filled a large share of the public attention". Mr. Barnes, the chief artist, was given

28. *Boston Transcript*, February 2, 4, 1850; *New York Albion*, September 29, 1849; *New York Post*, October 19, 1849; *New York Tribune*, October 24, 1849; *New York Courier*, October 20, November 6, 20, 1849; *New York Times*, September 30, 1849.

29. *New York Tribune*, September 17, November 13, 1849; *New York Herald*, September 19, November 2, 1849; GUIDE, 1850, 47; *New York Times*, September 23, 1849; *Boston Transcript*, August 28, September 10, 12, 14, 19, 24, 1849.

a benefit performance because "his zeal and success in diffusing over so broad a surface such an artistic characterization entitle him to a share of public attention, honor and emolument". October closed with all performances, day and evening, being offered to full houses.[30]

During November the proprietor began to hold matinees every weekday "to accommodate the great crowd of visitors" desirous of seeing "this grand and truthful exhibition of the lovely and enchanting scenery of our northern frontier". Burr was now "reaping a golden harvest" for all his costly endeavours. By mid-November audiences comprising "the beauty, fashion and intelligence" of the metropolis were spreading "far and wide their impressions of its grandeur and beauty", with oral and written testimonies being secured from informed Canadian visitors—residents, missionaries, river men. Despite the daily matinees there were times when 500 or 1,000 persons were unable to secure seats and the announcement of a closing date at the end of November only seemed to inspire an even greater rush to view the panorama. Public interest reached its peak in December. One hundred performances had been given, and still people had to "rush and scramble for seats", which were sold out long before the show opened. On December 16th it was estimated that "over ten thousand persons have visited the Minerva during the present week" and it continued to draw about one thousand visitors daily. Patronage was usually good during the holidays, but the closing date was announced for January 2, 1850, because of "the claims and wants of patrons elsewhere" who were impatient of its prolonged stay in New York. The proprietor, grateful for the extremely favourable reception of the panorama, concluded the run in New York by two special performances—one, on January 7, a free showing to members of the public press, printers as well as writers, in appreciation for their generous support; the other, on January 8, a special benefit showing for the artist Barnes "to whom the public are indebted for the pleasure they have derived from the splendid picture". Besides Barnes, narrators at this performance included D. Eldon Hall, a regular lecturer, and the visiting Hungarian nationalist, Louis Kossuth. Some 200 performances were given during the four months in New York to an estimated 200,000 or 300,000 viewers.[31]

William Burr, already well rewarded for his efforts, next took the panorama to Boston where the greatest interest could be expected. Here he was joined some time during 1850 by Josiah Perham, probably at first as a partner, then as sole owner. Perham, who now cast his lot with the enterprise and earned an enormous fortune from it, was born in 1803 at Wilton, Maine. He had won and lost one fortune in Maine through land speculation in the 1830's, and a second in Boston during the 1840's as a

30. *New York Courier,* October 24, 1849; *New York Star,* October 18, 1849; *New New York Tribune,* October 22, 1849.

31. *New York Tribune,* November 1, 2, 8, 14, December 20, 29, 1849; *New York Times,* December 2, 16, 1849; January 6, 1850; *New York Post,* December 1, 1849, January 7, 1850; *New York Courier,* December 27, 1849.

wool commission merchant. Then in 1850, when Burr's panorama arrived in Boston, he perceived his opportunity and seized it with full enthusiasm. He enlisted the cooperation of the New England railroads to extend the half-rate excursion system to persons travelling to Boston to view the exhibition, and by this means he reportedly brought over 200,000 tourists to the hub city. By this and other devices he won for himself a third fortune during his five-year connection with the panorama, only to lose it once more through investment in the unfinished Northern Pacific Railroad, of which he was the first president, and died in poverty at East Boston on October 4, 1868.[32]

The panorama opened for a limited engagement at Amory Hall on February 4, 1850 but remained in Boston for a total of eighteen months. There were performances nightly at 7:00 p.m. for the general public, and matinees on Wednesdays and Saturdays for ladies, family groups, country parties and school children. The admission remained 25 cents for adults and the handbooks were sold for 12½ cents. Professor Henry Gimber presided at the Aeolian piano. The fashionable first-night audience found "the gigantic proportions" of the Seven Mile Mirror "truly surprising" and was "delighted with the astonishing truthfulness and beauty of the exhibition". The faithfulness of the scenes was attested by Canadians like W. J. MacDonald, owner of the wrecked steamer *Dawn*, and F. Roger Loomis from Montreal. The Boston editors were not behind their New York confreres in popularizing the virtues of the panorama. At the end of March they called attention to "the vast crowds [that] have for nearly eight weeks been attracted to Amory Hall by the magnificence of Burr's moving mirror" as offering best proof of its universal merits. Burr for his part had "refused to adopt any ingenious manoeuvers" to gain for the painting "any undue celebriety, as he was determined it should stand or fall upon its own merits"; he therefore attributed its increasing popularity to the fact "that it stands first in the magnificence of its scenery, first in the accuracy of its presentation, and first in artistic merit".[33]

During April the hall was so crowded that extra matinees were added to cope with the overflow problem. By May country visitors began to augment the crowds of viewers, for the railroads were now glad "to furnish to parties tickets for the trip to Boston and back for half price". By May 21, when the school children of Chelsea were brought to Boston to view the panorama, it was reported as "exciting a truly magnetical effect on the country towns, [and] drawing in large parties". When Perham's railroad excursion system began full operation in June attendance broke all records. To accommodate people from the neighbouring towns a special performance was given daily at 10:30 a.m. On July 3 two trains arrived from Worcester, each with a party of 700, and two more trainloads came from

32. Dumas Malone, editor, *American Biographical Dictionary* (New York, 1934), XIV, 462-3; Eugene V. Smalley, *History of the Northern Pacific Railroad* (New York, 1883), 98-131.

33. *Boston Transcript,* February 5, March 27, April 12, 25, 1850.

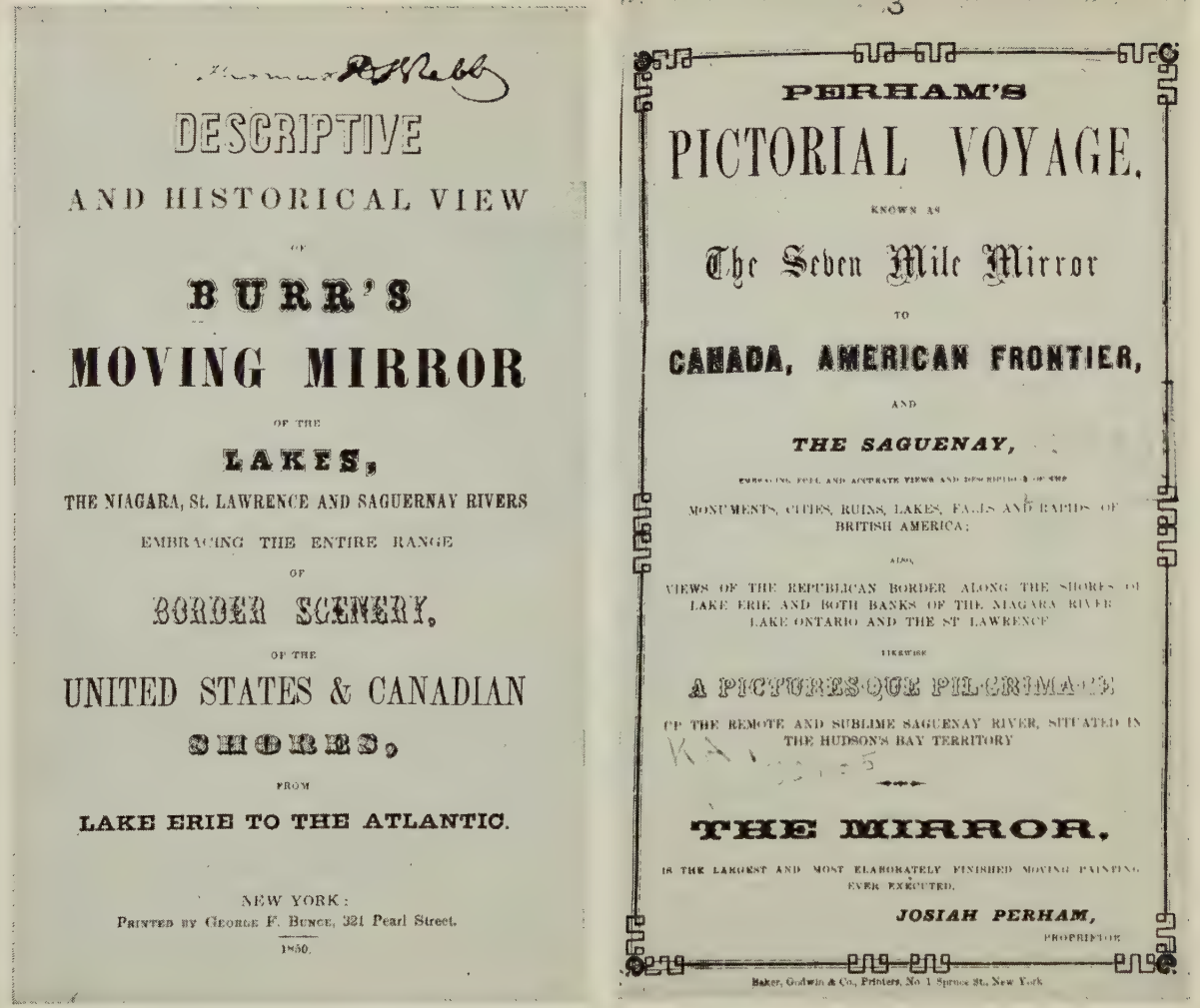
Lynn. It was obvious that the hall could not accommodate such increasing crowds at a sitting, so the proprietor offered three performances daily and coordinated the excursion trips with them. By June 24 so numerous were the visitors that the change was made to the more commodious Melodeon Hall, with a seating capacity of 1,500 persons.[34]

Thanks to the panorama Boston became a real resort city during July, an off-season for other shows. On Independence Day alone Burr planned for 12,000 visitors and prepared six performances—at 9:00 and 11:00 a.m., and at 1:00, 3:00, 5:00 and 10:00 p.m. The proceeds of a performance on July 8 were donated to the Chippeway Indian chief, George Copway, who visited the show and gave personal testimony to its truthfulness. The show continued "to attract parties from all quarters of the commonwealth", with "nearly the entire population of many towns from 30 to 50 miles distant" being carried by rail into Boston to view the spectacle. Over 50,000 persons, representing more than forty New England communities, attended the showings during July 1850. The heavy influx continued in August, except for the period August 12-24 when the hall was previously engaged by the Philharmonic Institute. All these excursions brought wealth into Boston estimated from $2,000 to $5,000 daily, not to speak of the prosperity enjoyed by the railways.[35]

In September the rush continued from other New England towns. On the 2nd Bridgewater and Blackstone sent 2,500 visitors and that number was topped by groups from New Hampshire on the following day. By now, indeed, travel in connection with the exhibition was reaching international proportions. Burr had so turned American eyes northward that real tours of Canada were beginning to be made. Equally, Canadians began to visit Boston in order to view the painted panorama of their country. On September 5 some 600 Canadians from Montreal, Quebec and other places "arrived in the city on a tour of pleasure". They were welcomed by Mayor John Prescott Bigelow of Boston, and responses were offered by Hon. Francis Hincks and Col. A. Gugy, both members of the Canadian parliament and interested in good political and commercial relations with the United States, the former being a leader in the movement for a Reciprocity Treaty with America. There was an "interchange of sentiments between the representatives of the two countries, which are about to be very closely united by various lines of railroads, in commercial and social intercourse". After attending the panorama they expressed their gratitude to Burr, "for having labored with so much zeal to exhibit to the world the beautiful scenery of our country" and then presented him with a signed certificate of its merits. Within the month a party of 1,346 New Englanders returned the visit to Montreal and Quebec, travelling in nineteen passenger coaches drawn by two powerful locomotives. Reports from Montreal indicated that immense welcoming crowds awaited their arrival at the wharfs. A second

34. *Ibid.*, May 30, June 12, 1850.
35. *Ibid.*, July 10, 17, 1850; GUIDE, 1854, 3, 4, 42-3.

William Burr, Producer of the Seven Mile Mirror
—Courtesy of the New York Historical Society



DESCRIPTIVE

AND HISTORICAL VIEW

OF

BURR'S

MOVING MIRROR

OF THE

LAKES,

THE NIAGARA, St. LAWRENCE AND SAGUENAY RIVERS

EMBRACING THE ENTIRE RANGE

OF

BORDER SCENERY,

OF THE

UNITED STATES & CANADIAN

SHORES,

FROM

LAKE ERIE TO THE ATLANTIC.

NEW YORK:
PRINTED BY GEORGE F. BUNCE, 321 Pearl Street.
1850.

PERHAM'S

PICTORIAL VOYAGE,

KNOWN AS

The Seven Mile Mirror

TO

CANADA, AMERICAN FRONTIER,

AND

THE SAGUENAY,

EMBRACING FULL AND ACCURATE VIEWS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF THE

MONUMENTS, CITIES, RUINS, LAKES, FALLS AND RAPIDS OF BRITISH AMERICA;

ALSO,

VIEWS OF THE REPUBLICAN BORDER ALONG THE SHORES OF LAKE ERIE AND BOTH BANKS OF THE NIAGARA RIVER LAKE ONTARIO AND THE ST LAWRENCE

LIKEWISE

A PICTURESQUE PILGRIMAGE

UP THE REMOTE AND SUBLIME SAGUENAY RIVER, SITUATED IN THE HUDSON'S BAY TERRITORY

THE MIRROR,

IS THE LARGEST AND MOST ELABORATELY FINISHED MOVING PAINTING EVER EXECUTED.

JOSIAH PERHAM,
PROPRIETOR

Baker, Godwin & Co., Printers, No. 1 Spruce St., New York

William Burr's and Josiah Perham's Guidebooks for the Moving Panorama, New York, 1850, 1854
Original sizes, 5½ inches by 8¾ inches, 48 pages.
—Courtesy of the New York Public Library

STILL OPEN!!

AMORY HALL!

CORNER OF WASHINGTON & WEST STREETS

Unparalleled Triumph of Art!

ADMISSION 25 CTS. CHILDREN HALF PRICE.

Tickets [illegible] open daily from 4 to 8 o'clock, for the sale of Tickets

Mr. [illegible] will move every Evening at 8 o'clock

[illegible]

[illegible] last ATTIC composition entitled

BURR'S SEVEN MILE

MIRROR!

OR A TOUR OF

2000 Miles on the Lakes;

NIAGARA, ST. LAWRENCE

SAGUENAY RIVERS!

Illustrated on 100 Acres of Moving Canvas

[illegible] presenting this Extraordinary Work to its completion, was aided by [illegible]

NETT CASH EXPENDITURE OF $33,000!

[illegible]

Note to the Citizens of Boston and its Vicinity

[illegible]

SYNOPSIS OF THE ROUTE.

THIS GRAND ILLUSTRATION

WHOLE BORDER SCENERY,

ON BOTH THE

UNITED STATES & CANADIAN SHORES!

LAKE ERIE TO THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE

SAGUENAY RIVER [illegible]

ST. JOHN.

Brief Programme of Places and Dioramic Incidents

FIRST SECTION.

CITY AND HARBOR OF BUFFALO

[illegible]

NIAGARA RIVER

Chippewa Battle Ground, Schlosser Landing, Squaw, Grand & Navy Islands are passed in succession

[illegible] below GOAT ISLAND [illegible] head and the AWFUL RAPIDS. [illegible]

WORLD RENOWNED CATARACT

And every surrounding object of interest [illegible] the eye. Following [illegible] and thrilling views.

The Suspension Bridge, The Whirlpool, Queenston Heights, Brock's Dilapidated Monument, Lewiston, the Town and Fort of Niagara and the English Fort Massasauga come under observation.

SECOND SECTION

[illegible] MAJESTIC

ONTARIO!

speeds to the view. Passing the [illegible] Museum, the WELLAND CANAL, the City of Hamilton, the Allan McNab's Harbour [illegible] on the head of the Lake, a distance of [illegible] when the

Villages of Wellington, Square, Port Credit, Oakville & Humber Bay,

pass in review and soon the City of Toronto and village of Port Hope. Here the very elements appear [illegible] the Native [illegible] in their creations as the [illegible] Pavilion which [illegible] to the mountain wave. The famous Ship SAMPSON struggling with the howling sea and [illegible] storm apparently devoted to destruction, presents with the Royal Mail Steamer in the distance a most thrilling NAUTICAL SPECTACLE. Next the Extensive Harbor and Flourishing Town of Cobourg passes before the eye.

SECTION THIRD.

[illegible] of this [illegible] at the termination of the Lake approaching Kingston. Soon the city with [illegible] FORTIFICATIONS AND MARTELLO TOWERS pass in stern review when the Classic

ST. LAWRENCE

and one Thousand Islands attract the wondering eye. In the midst of this vast Archipelago a Grand Review [illegible] gives an unique entrance with the numerous habitations of Natives. Soon Brockville is entered by Moonlight

Ogdensburgh, Prescott and Windmill Point

[illegible] Mill and the Point, at [illegible] Monuments of the Rebellion [illegible] Canada are encountered [illegible] between the United States and Canada

SECTION FOURTH

[illegible] ST. LAWRENCE

The Village of the Cedars, The Cedar Rapids, The Ottawa Rivers, Beauharnois Canal and the Lachine Village. Rapids and Canal are passed in succession.

[illegible] MONUMENT ROYAL [illegible] Islands

MONTREAL

GRANITE QUAY AND LOFTY DOMES

Village and Waters of the Three Rivers and the Batiscan Village and River are viewed at the close of day.

SECTION FIFTH

Opens with a view at the mouth of the

JAQUES CARTIER RIVER!

Passing Cape Rouge by Moonlight we approach the

Metropolis of British America. Wolf's Cove, the Plains of Abraham and the frowning Walls on Cape Diamond

CITADEL AND CITY OF QUEBEC

MONTMORENCI FALLS

FIFTY FEET [illegible] TWO HUNDRED AND [illegible]

Great Mal Bay, The Indian Stepping Stones and the Saguenays Majestic Portals

[illegible] Bay [illegible] New York [illegible] Coast

SECTION SIXTH

SAGUENAY RIVER

PICTURESQUE AND STARTLING ATTRIBUTES. [illegible]

[illegible] Hudson's Bay Co. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

THE TETE DU BOULE ISLAND,

ETERNITY POINT, TRINITY COVE & CAPE TRINITY

[illegible] AWFUL STORM SCENE [illegible] Village of the Mille [illegible] Grand Bay and [illegible] Lake St. John. [illegible]

[illegible] Prof. HENRY CLARKE [illegible]

William Burr's Boston Playbill of the Seven Mile Mirror (1850)

Original size, 8 inches by 21½ inches.

—Courtesy of the New York Historical Society

100,000 GIFTS
FOR THE
PEOPLE!

JOSIAH PERHAM

100,000
Valuable & Costly Gifts

SEVEN-MILE MIRROR
OF THE
Lakes, Niagara, St. Lawrence & Saguenay Rivers,
EXHIBITING AT
ACADEMY HALL
663 BROADWAY,

This Magnificent and Unequaled Series of Paintings was exhibited in Boston for 18 Consecutive Months, and in Philadelphia for nearly a Year—during which time it was visited by about

ONE MILLION OF PERSONS

100,000 Tickets only, at $1 each

The whole of the Magnificent Series of Paintings, known as the SEVEN MILE MIRROR, valued at - $40,000

It having realized double that sum by its Exhibitions.

A Farm in Burlington County, New Jersey, containing 120 Acres, in a rich state of Cultivation, with Dwelling, Barn, and other necessary outhouses, fronting on the Delaware River, 1 mile from Beverly, and 10 miles from Philadelphia, access to it every hour in the day, either by Railroad or Steamboat, and also containing a Peach Orchard of 1200 Trees, on which Thousands of bushels of Peaches have been raised this year. Valued at - - - - - - $4,000

The Celebrated Trotting Horse Telegraph, who can Trot a mile in 2.50 with two Persons in a Wagon. To be seen at the Franklin House, Philadelphia, valued at 1,500

2 Pianos, worth $500 each, - - - 2,500

5 " " $300 " - - - 1,500

10 Gold Watches, worth $100 each, - - 1,000

40 " " $50 " - - - 2,000

100 " Pens and Cases, worth $5 each, - - 500

1,000 " Pencils, worth $3 each, - - - 3,000

100 Orders for Hats, on Genin, (Celebrated Broadway Hatter,) - - - - - - 400

5,000 Gold Pens, $1 each, - - - - - 5,000

40,000 Engravings, valued at 25c. each, - - 10,000

53,737 Hand Books, describing the Seven Mile Mirror, 6,099

100,000 Gifts, valued at - - - - - $97,499

To order to insure a perfectly fair and satisfactory partition of the Property, Mr. PERHAM is not sure that the Shareholders shall meet together at

Metropolitan Hall, on Wednesday Evening, 16th inst.

MISS CECELIA LE BARON MURDOCH

Tickets for a Single Admission 25 Cts. Children, half-price

Exhibitions Every Afternoon and Evening, at 3 and 7½ o'clock.

REMEMBER the Meeting of the Shareholders at Metropolitan Hall, on Wednesday Evening, 16th inst., to decide on the mode of distributing the 100,000 Gifts.

GREAT NOVELTY
PERHAM'S
VALENTINE
EXHIBITIONS
OF THE GIGANTIC
SEVEN MILE MIRROR
Of the Grand Tour on the Great Lakes, the Niagara, St. Lawrence, and the Saguenay Rivers, at
ACADEMY HALL
663 BROADWAY.

Perham's Gift Enterprise

PERHAM

Thursday, 9th inst.
And continue until Further Notice,

SAINT VALENTINE

25 CENT VALENTINE TICKET

HANDSOME VALENTINE
Equal in value to the price paid for the Ticket.

12 1-2 CENT VALENTINE TICKET

BEAUTIFUL VALENTINE
Sealed with appropriate Motto Seal, in a
PRETTY EMBOSSED ENVELOPE!

Holders of Perham's Gift Tickets

Exhibitions Every Afternoon and Evening, at 3 and half-past 7 o'clock.

PERHAM'S GIFTS

Total Distribution

IRA BUCKMAN, Jr., Chairman

Josiah Perham's New York Playbills of the Seven Mile Mirror, 1853-4

Original size, 6½ inches by 18 inches.

—Courtesy of the New York Historical Society

Original size, 7½ inches by 19 inches.

—Courtesy of The Brander Mathews Dramatic Museum, Columbia University.

group of 500 followed and a third party planned to travel to Montreal in time for that city's Grand Industrial Exhibition, of October 17-19, 1850.[36]

Not content with the attractions of the panorama, Burr was ever alert to augment the showings with added entertainment to increase patronage. Thus in September 1850 he had the panorama's "most romantic and poetical scenes . . . accompanied by the brilliant singing of M'delle Lovarney", a Swedish nightingale, and by Herr Stoepel's magical instrumental music. Sometimes special concerts were presented, such as those of Hector, the bass singer, and of the Macomer twin sisters on the violin and violoncello.[37]

Towards the end of 1850 Burr's associate, Josiah Perham, took full charge of the operations in Boston, and on January 31, 1851 the city's hotelkeepers honored him with a special benefit performance at the Melodeon, "when the Seven Mile Mirror will be unrolled for the 6000th (?) time, more or less". On March 8 the hall was closed to permit some necessary repairs because of wear and tear on the much-exhibited panorama. To make it "the most perfect work of art of the kind", Perham had it "thoroughly retouched by the original artist", after which the show reopened on May 27. The personnel was largely the same as previous to the suspension: D. Eldon Hall as narrator; Frank Howard, the pianist; Dr. Valentine, the entertainer between sections; and on special occasions Willie Church, the Welch prodigy, and the Camilla Quartette, dressed in full Bloomers. Shortly after July 4 (on which day the Mirror was unrolled five times) the panorama ended its long run in Boston to begin its tour of other cities. During the early months of 1851 the excursion trips to Boston had been continued, though on a smaller scale than in 1850, while Perham utilized his experience to promote out-of-town excursions from Boston to New York, Washington, Montreal, Quebec and Niagara Falls. As late as 1861, we find him transporting numerous school children to Boston's aquarium, to see a live whale. For his work he became termed "the father of the cheap excursion system", and the "Napoleon for promoting excursions" in America. Estimates of the total patronage for the panorama during 1,000 performances at Boston ran as high as 1,000,000 viewers.[38]

From Boston the exhibition moved to Providence, where on July 28 it opened in the large Howard Hall for a six-weeks' run. The citizens lost no time in taking the pictorial tour while the excursion system again began to pour streams of visitors into the city. On August 28 the Sabbath Schools were given liberal or free access to the exhibition, "combining valuable instruction with innocent amusement". The coloured people were accorded

36. *Boston Transcript,* September 3, 5, 25, October 2, 10, 1850; GUIDE, 1854, 44; *New York Tribune,* January 21, 1850; *The Congressional Globe* (Washington, D.C.), September 21, 1850, page 1897; *Rochester* (New York) *American,* January 3, 7, 1851; *Kennebec Journal* (Augusta, Maine), September 18, 1851.

37. *Boston Transcript,* September 16, 17, October 18, 1850.

38. *Ibid.,* January 31, February 14, 18, May 24, 26, June 9, 20, 27, July 1, 1851; GUIDE, 1854, 3, 44; *Detroit Advertiser,* November 28, 1854; NEW YORK PLAYBILL; *Providence Journal,* July 25, 1851; Josiah Perham's broadside of excursion to Boston, dated June 20, [1861], copy in Baker Library, Harvard College.

the same hospitality on September 8. As the closing date of September 13 approached it became necessary once more to offer performances thrice daily. For the next four months the itinerary has not been definitely determined. We find the panorama next in Washington, where Perham opened it in Odd Fellows Hall on February 9, 1852 for a six-week engagement, Mr. Howard again presiding at the piano. The work was "handsomely attended" and "repeatedly cheered" as the "spirited and faithful" scenes passed in review. The press notices were generous, calling it "a wonder of the age". Perham offered a benefit performance for the St. Vincent Male Orphan Asylum on March 5 and the show closed on March 24 after having "interested and delighted many thousands" in the capital. On March 30 Perham moved to Baltimore for another six-week run in the hall of Maryland Institute. The press praised it as a "wonderful and gigantic painting", taking up "the whole extent of the Grand Hall". With this "great work of art" citizens and visitors had "a very attractive mode of passing an evening agreeably" and of hearing various accompanying artists and concerts. On April 27 the Music Jubilee Concert performing with it included two bands and a vocal chorus of fifty. Patronage was so good that the proprietor offered free admission to public school pupils. On May 12 there was a benefit for the Baltimore Female Orphans Asylum and the following day another for St. Mary's Orphan Asylum.[39]

The Philadelphia press gave Perham a month's advance notice before the panorama opened at the National Theatre on May 31. On June 30 it closed there with a benefit for T. M. Coleman, the new agent and delineator replacing Hall, who was temporarily with P. T. Barnum showing a new "Mirror of the Crystal Palace and World's Fair" of London in 1851. The show re-opened July 14 in the Masonic Hall for a run which lasted until the middle of September, after which it removed once more, on September 21, to the Assembly Building where it remained for over four months. Among the artists who accompanied the performances in this period were again Mlle. Lovarney and Herr Stoepel, Dr. Valentine, and George Copway, now appearing in full native costume. The exhibition closed probably in January 1853, but Perham continued several months longer in Philadelphia. His newest interest lay in organizing two lottery sales, one of them a California panorama (June 25), the other Hogarth's panorama of the Mammoth Cave and other gifts to a total value of $10,000 (July 4).[40]

With this experience behind him, Perham's next operation was to organize on a grand scale the sale of his own panorama in New York. On September 5, 1853 he launched the scheme by advertising that "100,000 Gifts for the people . . . of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and

39. *Providence Journal* August 23, 26, September 5, 1851; Washington, D.C., *National Intelligencer,* February 6, 9, 10, March 3, 24, 1852; GUIDE, 1854, 45-6; *Baltimore Sun,* March 23, April 1, 1852.

40. D. Eldon Hall, *A Condensed History of the 'Great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations* (Redfield, 1852), preface; *Philadelphia Public Ledger,* April 29, May 27, June 30, September 20, October 18, November 1, December 6, 13, 1852, January 12, 29, June 22, 30, 1853; *Boston Transcript,* January 3, 1852.

vicinities" would be given to the purchasers of 100,000 tickets to exhibitions of the Seven Mile Mirror commencing September 12 at the Chinese Assembly Rooms, 539 Broadway. Each ticket sold for one dollar and was also valid for four admissions to performances, besides which the holders would all eventually receive gifts aggregating $97,499 in value. These comprised 53,737 handbooks of the Seven Mile Mirror, selling at 12½ cents each, 40,000 engravings worth 25 cents apiece, 6,100 gold pens and pencils rated at $8,500 in all, 100 hats estimated at $400, 50 gold watches valued at $3,000, and ten pianos listed at $4,000 altogether. As the main prizes for three lucky winners, Perham offered a trotting horse, Telegraph, worth $1,500, a 120-acre farm ten miles from Philadelphia appraised at $24,000, and the St. Lawrence Panorama, valued at $40,000. In this fashion the ingenious promoter hoped to attract record audiences to the final exhibitions and eventually to dispose of the panorama for a goodly sum.[41]

The ticket offices were opened in September and canvassers and agents went about their task in the city and into the country. A press campaign helped promote sales and brought crowds to view the panorama, so that by October there were capacity houses for every evening performance. Before long, since "the success of the gift enterprise has been great beyond precedence", it became necessary to remove the place of exhibition to the larger Academy Hall at 663 Broadway. In November the ticket offices were "literally besieged day and night, by persons taking shares in the gift enterprise" and new offices were opened in hotels and other public places. By November 15 some 75,000 tickets had been sold.[42]

The following day, November 16, had been settled upon as the date for the general meeting of the ticket shareholders and the distribution of the gifts. Accordingly a grand meeting was held in Metropolitan Hall, and here Perham turned over the gifts to a holding committee, appointed by the mass meeting. However it was decided to postpone the drawing for the prizes until the remaining 25,000 tickets were sold. On December 6 a meeting of the legal subcommittee of the trustees reported that existing laws against raffles and lotteries made it difficult to effect the distribution in New York or nearby cities. The sale of tickets continued slowly but steadily, so that only 11,000 tickets remained unsold by December 19. During the Christmas holidays the sales campaign and the number of daily performances were stepped up, until there remained only 2,500 tickets by December 30, the date appointed for another mass meeting of shareholders. But again Perham decided to continue the exhibitions until the remaining tickets were sold, while the meeting conveniently left the committee full discretion as to the mode, time and place of the long-awaited distribution of prizes.[43]

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41. *New York Tribune,* January 17, 1850; *New York Herald,* September 5, 12, 1853; NEW YORK PLAYBILL; *New York Atlas* November 13, 1853; *Philadelphia Public Ledger,* September 12, 1853.
42. *New York Tribune,* January 17, 1850; *New York Herald,* September 5, 12, 1853; *New York Atlas,* October 2, 30, November 6, 1853.
43. *New York Atlas,* November 13, 20, December 11, 18, 1853; *New York Times,* November 15, 16, 17, 18, December 7, 9, 1853.

Not unnaturally public scepticism was increased by the delays and one evidence of declining confidence was the resale of tickets to speculators, some of whom bought them in 100-share lots. Most city editors helped to sustain public confidence in the integrity of Perham and the committee, and the ticket offices continued to dispose of the remaining tickets, while performances of the panorama honoured the rights of the shareholders, "thousands of whom have not had an opportunity of witnessing the exhibition". By the end of January 1854 all, or nearly all, of the tickets had been disposed of to the public. But still the performances continued, and the sale of single admissions to viewers was encouraged once more. The delay in holding the lottery played into the hands of speculators; one J. C. Sargent advertised having "bought up in the country from Parties holding large numbers, about 300 of Perham's gift tickets, which he will dispose of in lots of from one to five at $1 each". The committee announced that the distribution would definitely take place at Washington, D.C., on February 13, and cautioned shareholders against selling. The committee went to Washington but failed to make the distribution there and resorted instead to Georgetown, D.C., where at last permission was secured for the distribution and May 15 was set as the official date on which prizewinners would be selected by lot. Certain offices were designated in New York at which the less-fortunate holders could secure their handbooks or engravings, but the more valuable prizes were to be applied for in person.[44]

Meanwhile Perham had secured permission to keep the panorama on exhibition until the committee called for its surrender to the new owner. So, ever resourceful, he launched a St. Valentine's Day campaign to attract a larger audience, particularly of young people. Each purchaser of a 25 cent Valentine ticket was admitted to the showing and given a handsome valentine. This promotion lasted until March 1. The final months Perham spent organizing the exhibition and sale of tickets for still another gift enterprise using a panorama of North and South America which was to be raffled to a ticket-holder on June 22, 1854, a date which was extended, as in the previous instance, till January 1855.[45]

Mystery surrounds the final years and the ultimate fate of the great St. Lawrence panorama which by this time reputedly had been viewed by over two million persons in the course of 2,478 exhibitions in the Atlantic coast cities. It seems to have been won in the lottery, or purchased afterwards from the winner, by D. Eldon Hall, the official narrator, and J. C. Sargent, the speculator in the gift tickets, who exhibited "the

44. *New York Times*, January 5, 30, February 6, 1854; *New York Atlas*, December 28 to 31, 1853, January 29, February 1 to 27, 1854; *New York Herald*, February 28, March 1, 1854.

45. Josiah Perham's Playbill of the Valentine Exhibition, New York, February 9, 1854, in Brander Mathews Dramatic Musuem, Columbia University; *New York Herald*, February 10, 23, April 25, 1854; *New York Times*, December 16, 1853, January 17, April 22 to 29, May 1, 4, June 1 to 7, July 11, August 1, 1854; *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, July 17, August 15, December 13, 1854; Josiah Perham's Playbill of the Mirror of North and South America, Boston, September 11, 1854, copy in New York Public Library.

$40,000 prise" in Cleveland during November 1854 and advertised it for a showing at Detroit which was to have begun in December. But it turned up instead at Louisville, Kentucky, where it was on show in the Mozart Hall between December 18, 1854 and January 6, 1855. Much later, in October 1863, we find it being "exhibited in various parts of the country" in connection with another lottery project of Perham's for aiding invalid soldiers of the Civil War.[46] And then we lose sight of it completely.

Further mystery surrounds the precise connection between The Seven Mile Mirror and an unidentified panorama of the St. Lawrence that opened at the Odeon Hall in Boston in September 1849 (the very month the Mirror first went on public showing at the Minerva Rooms on Broadway in New York) and was on view at Lewiston, Maine, in January 1850, while the New York exhibit was still in progress. Both panoramas may have been Burr's work, for there is evidence that, as with some immensely popular Mississippi panoramas, a second copy of the Mirror existed and followed an independent itinerary. Press reports indicate that the copy was on display in Portland, Maine, at intervals during several years—for example, in December 1850, July 1852, September 1853, and possibly in April 1851—that is to say, concurrent with the exhibitions of the Mirror in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New York. That a panorama of the St. Lawrence should gravitate to Portland is understandable, in view of that city's tremendous effort to win a trading hinterland in Canada which was being realized between the years 1848 and 1853 through the construction of the 292-mile Portland to Montreal railroad. Completion of this international road brought much commercial and passenger traffic to Portland and meant generous patronage for the exhibition through the excursion system.[47]

Certainly the Seven Mile Mirror exerted a great influence during the years 1849 to 1854, not least in encouraging imitative pictorial records of the St. Lawrence waterway system. The Frenchman Regis de Trobriand's views of Niagara Falls had already been exhibited in New York in October 1848 before being lithographed in the following year. In 1850 there appeared G. N. Frankenstein's panorama of the Niagara Falls. By 1854 Washington Friend had produced a "Diorama of Canada and the United States" which he exhibited in England. As late as 1866 we find a Detroit artist painting a panorama of Lake Superior. Equally, the lottery technique adopted by Perham to dispose of the panorama in 1853-4 proved quite contagious for a time. Frederick S. Lyons started a lottery on Land-

46. *Cleveland Leader*, November 7, 1854; *Detroit Advertiser,* November 28, 1854; Josiah Perham's Playbill of Invalid Soldier Benefit Enterprise, Boston, October 28, 1863. Copy in New York Historical Society.

47. *Boston Transcript,* August 28, September 10, 12, 14, 19, 24, 1849; January 3, 1852; *Portland Transcript,* January 5, December 9, 1850; July 24, 31, August 14, 21, September 4, 11, 25, 1852, September 12, 17, 24, 1853; *Portland Advertiser,* July 13, 19, 31, August 14, 31, 1852; September 12, 1853; John Alfred Poor, *Commercial Railway and Shipbuilding Statistics of the City of Portland and the State of Maine* (Portland, 1855), 4, 7, 12, 13, 45, 50; *Portland Eastern Argus,* July 14, 15, August 23, September 15, 27, 1852.

seer's "Stag at Bay" in New York in January 1854, while Jones's panorama of California was a prize in a $150,000 lottery in June 1854. Such was the public interest for a time that the press sometimes devoted a whole column to several panorama lotteries in progress at the same time.[48]

Burr's panorama also had some influence upon popular and official relations between Canada and the United States in the middle of the last century. By making great numbers of Americans familiar with the scenery of the St. Lawrence region it helped popularize real tours of the river, for which handbooks like Hunter's Panoramic Guide from Niagara Falls to Quebec (1857) were published. Perhaps the good will which it engendered, exemplified by the exchange of visits between Montreal and Boston and between Montreal and Portland played some part in the consummation in 1854 of the important Treaty of Reciprocity between the United States and British North America, interest in which certainly coincided with the period of the panorama's popularity. The Reciprocity Treaty allowed both countries full, unimpeded use of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway and arranged for the free exchange of the natural products of both countries, and it marked the first beginnings of the economic integration of Canada and the United States, so vital in today's world.[49]

48. *New York Albion,* October 21, 1848; *The Literary World,* (New York) May 26, 1849; *Boston Transcript,* August 28, September, 1849; *Illustrated London News,* April 8, 22, 1854; *The Art Journal,* (London), May 1, 1854; [Washington F. Friend] *Guide Book to Washington Friend's Great American Tour* (London, n.d.), 2; *Detroit Free Press,* December 8, 1866.

49. William S. Hunter, Jr., *Hunter's Panoramic Guide from Niagara Falls to Quebec* (Boston, 1857); *Congressional Globe,* August 7, 1854; George Minot, editor, *The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America* (Boston, 1866), x, 1089, 1092; *Rochester American,* May 3, 1853; John Alfred Poor, *The First International Railway and the Colonization of New England; Life and writings of John Alfred Poor,* edited by Laura Elizabeth Poor (New York, 1892), 28, 29, 51, 51; *Portland Transcript,* September 25, 1852; *New York Tribune,* June 12, 1854; Henry V. Poor, *History of the Railroads and Canals of the United States of America* (New York, 1860), I, 9-10; John Alfred Poor, *Remarks . . . upon the European and North American Railway . . .* (Portland, July 22, 1851), 1; Oscar Douglas Skelton, *The Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt* (Toronto, 1920), 56-61, 72-76.

A WOMEN'S PRESS CLUB AWARD

Readers will be pleased to learn that this year's prize of the Canadian Women's Press Club in the Magazine Article Section was awarded to a member of this Society, Mrs. Eula Carscallen Lapp of Meaford, for her very interesting and informative article "Beware: Horse Thieves! Pirates! Witches!" which was presented at the annual meeting in Midland and was afterwards published in Volume 50, Number 3, of this journal. We congratulate Mrs. Lapp for her great accomplishment and thank her for bringing honour to the Ontario Historical Society and to *Ontario History* by this achievement.

REGIONALISM IN CANADIAN HISTORY*

By George F. G. Stanley

In some, perhaps even in many quarters in Canada, "regionalism", like "co-existence" in the United States, is a naughty word. "Regions", "regional", "regionalism" are terms of disparagement or derision. They are usually equated with those equally derogatory terms "provinces", "provincial", "provincialism". To some people these words conjure up images of the intellectual and cultural superiority of the metropolis, the capital, over the countryside—as if mere gregariousness could mean more to men than association. To others, they arouse strong feelings over the difficulty of maintaining Canadian unity in the face of regional diversities. And so "regionalism", be it of the literary, historical or political variety, is frequently disparaged as a kind of hand-me-down, outmoded, out-of-date, narrow, restrictive, if not actually subversive way of looking upon the national scene. To be "regional" is, at its best, to carry manure upon one's boots rather than polish upon one's shoes; at its worst it is wilfully to obstruct the achieving of a unified coherent national entity. In both instances it is a sin against the light. Of course it matters little that the "national" approach is just as suspect in the eyes of the "internationalist" as is the "regional" approach in those of the "nationalist". The tar is spread a little more extensively, even if somewhat more thinly, that is all. It simply depends upon the point of view adopted.

But what really is "regionalism"? And what, too, is a "region"? Regionalism is the legitimate offspring of the marriage of space and time. And, as in every offspring, there are differences of size and temperament, not every region is identical with another. A region may thus take the form of a definite area of land with clearly defined "natural" frontiers; it may be a people which possesses its own language, racial concepts, and its own collective consciousness; it may be an area of economic interest comprising several peoples or several geographical areas. It may be co-incident with national boundaries; it may be one of several components of the national entity; it may even comprise one or more nations. A region usually possesses certain obvious attributes, geographical, political, cultural, economic, and even psychological. But the one feature common to all regions —and by this feature we may recognize it—is its consciousness of its own identity as such in terms of community of purpose. In some countries regionalism may begin as a state of mind and become an actuality; in Canada it began as an actuality and has developed into a state of mind. Community of purpose, then, is the touchstone. Such community of purpose may, for instance, be a matter of economic self interest, or it may be a

* The following paper was read during a session on Nationalism and Regionalism in Recent Canadian History which formed part of the programme of the American Historical Association, meeting in Washington, D.C., December 28-30, 1958.

matter of racial preservation and cultural survival. In the course of time it will develop its own nomenclature, its own sense of difference from other regions, and its own mythology. A region—and here I speak with my eyes upon Canadian regions—will thus be part of the national whole, while remaining apart from it.

It is not difficult to recognize the parentage of Canadian regionalism. History and geography. But if the former was a tolerant parent, the latter was never an indulgent foster mother to that political adoptee which we call Canada. She gave it no continuous belt of arable land stretching from east to west to bind Canadians together. Instead she interposed various barriers to unity, mountains, rivers, rocks and trees which divide the country into clearly marked geographical regions, namely the Maritimes; Central Canada or the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes valley; the Canadian or Pre-Cambrian Shield; the Prairies; and the Pacific Slope; to which may, perhaps, be added another, barely yet appreciated economically or historically, the Mackenzie River Basin. Each of these regions has its "natural" frontiers; each of these regions, too, has its characteristic economic activity—fishing, manufacturing, mining, farming, and lumbering.

Our early history did much to reinforce the impact of geography. Our first settlers came from a common Fatherland, France; but they settled, some along the Atlantic seaboard, and others in the St. Lawrence valley. They developed along different lines economically and politically. The Atlantic region may have been looked upon as an integral part of New France, and La Vallière as subordinate to Frontenac; but in reality Acadia was an entity separate from Canada, and the Acadian psychologically distinct from the Québecois. The accessibility of Acadia by water and its inaccessibility from Canada by land, were very real factors in Acadian life and history.

The expulsion of the Acadians during the Seven Years War and their replacement by Americans both before and after the Revolution, added to the regional sense of separate identity. The coming of the Scots and Irish made little difference. They simply took on the Maritime way of thinking. They might have their own religious and political quarrels, but they conducted their affairs with dignity and drew self-righteous comparisons between themselves and those turbulent, disloyal French of Lower Canada, and those self-assertive misfits in Upper Canada. They might speak their prayers with soft Gaelic accents or nasal Yankee tones, but they all thanked God that they were not as the Canadians were. And if, eventually, the Canadians were able, with Imperial approval and Imperial assistance, to drag the suspicious Maritimers within their political ambit, they never succeeded in making Canadians out of them. For the sea, the Notre Dame mountains, and the Maine salient were still there, and the ghost of Joseph Howe was never laid by "better terms".

Geographically and economically one, the St. Lawrence valley and its tributaries has become two distinct culture regions. And for this the Ameri-

can Revolution is largely responsible. For Guy Carleton in 1774, the future of Canada was to be that of a French-speaking colony; but in 1783-4 the Revolution provided Canada with an unexpected influx of English-speaking settlers, the Loyalists, the displaced persons of America. The French Canadians were anxious to preserve their cultural identity; so, too, were the Loyalists. And the differences between the two groups, separated from one another by language, system of law and land tenure, religion, and historical memories, was recognized by the Imperial enactment which brought about the establishment in 1791 of the two separate colonies, Lower and Upper Canada, an arrangement which was considerably facilitated by the fact that the Loyalists had, for the most part, settled in the unoccupied lands to the south-west of the Ottawa river.

Fighting a constant battle against the Imperial and later the colonial governments, the French Canadians succeeded in maintaining certain political and religious rights which made it possible for them to preserve the basic elements of their culture to a far larger degree than did those of their kindred who settled in Louisiana or who were attracted during the nineteenth century to the flesh pots of New England. The French fact in Canada is a fact and not a fiction. It has withstood the cession of 1763, the political union of 1840, and the federation of 1867; it has resisted efforts at assimilation in the eighteenth century, political ostracism in the nineteenth, and heavy non-French immigration in the twentieth. The cradle, the school and the church have been its bulwarks. The solidarity of French Canada as a political entity and as a cultural concept is an essential thread in the fabric of Canadian history.

Upper Canada, unlike Lower Canada, was something of a melting pot. Composed of Loyalist Americans, non-Loyalist Americans, Englishmen, Scotsmen, Irishmen, Germans and others, it developed under the guiding hands of geography, religion, economic and political self interest, a distinct outlook of its own. One may, of course, point to the political arguments, to the denominational rivalries, and to the armed rising of 1837 as evidence of the lack of cohesion of Upper Canadians. But when confronted with the rest of British America, and particularly with French Canada, Upper Canadians were as bigoted in their Protestantism as the Lower Canadians in their Catholicism, and as strong in their British loyalism as they suspected the French Canadians to be in their disloyalty. And there were always the memories of American military aggression in 1775 and in 1812, and the repeated threats of war and annexation to cement the cracks in the facade of unity. Today this sense of community based upon Loyalism and Orange fanaticism is weakening. But the Ontarian, always identifying the interest of Canada as a whole with that of his own region, is proud of his wealth, his numbers, his dominant role in Canadian politics, his fidelity to the Crown and his democracy. If he cannot see himself as a "provincial" or distinguish his own peculiar ethic, if he can only ascribe to irrational jealousy the jibes and criticisms of Canadians of other regions, that is

simply because the beam in his own eye has never obscured the mote in those of his opponents.

The prairies too, have had a history of their own, as distinct and as regionalist as those of the Maritimes, of Quebec, and of Ontario. Until 1870 the western territories were the preserve of the fur-bearing animals and the Indians and the battleground of competing fur trading interests. One colony only was attempted, and that was inspired by a Scottish earl, assisted by an English fur company, and settled by dispossessed Highland crofters. Not until the territory had been acquired by Canada from the reluctant Hudson's Bay Company with the benign blessing of the British Government and against the determined resistance of the local settlers, were the plains opened to immigrants. And in they poured, from Ontario first, and then from Great Britain, from eastern and central Europe, and from the United States. This was the "frontier", the last and best west, the home of free land and great hopes, of the drought and the grasshopper. The prairie region never possessed the racial homogeneity of Quebec, or of the Maritimes, or even that of Ontario, but it did possess homogeneity among its people. Even more important from the standpoint of regional history, it found a strong bond of unity in economic self-interest. For the prairies were, par excellence, the land of the staple, wheat, and the free trade antagonist of protectionist Ontario.

Still further west, on the green slopes of the Pacific was yet another geographical and historical region. A British colony, isolated from the other British colonies of the continental mainland, British Columbia drew many of its settlers and nearly all of its social and cultural traditions from England. And these have remained strong in spite of the infiltration of ideas and products from the United States, and the presence of the inscrutable Oriental market gardener. The old rawness, the lustiness of the gold mining days is conveniently forgotten or romanticised in the figures of Matthew Begbie and "Cariboo" Cameron. If there are still obvious vulgarities which accord ill with the genteel English tradition, they can be set aside as importations from south of the line, or from over the Rocky Mountains. In any event the mountain ranges are broad and high, the seas are ever lapping the shores of the province, and the climate is the last refuge of the tired and retired businessman and army officer.

Regionalism, like nationalism is an organic thing. It lives, grows, thrives, and sometimes dies. In Canada regionalism was born with the arrival of our first settlers. It has developed steadily throughout history. Today it is a lusty, vital reality in Canadian life. The one dominant theme underlying all our political, constitutional, economic, and even cultural development, has been the interplay, or struggle, between the regional and the national idea, between unity and diversity. There can be no understanding Canadian history without an appreciation of the strength of this fact. Need we do more than recall the names of Howe, Mowat, Riel, Mercier, Bourassa, Crerar, Forke, Wood, the "Ginger Group", or more recently

those of Ferguson, Hepburn, Pattullo, Aberhart, Angus Macdonald, or Maurice Duplessis?

The regions of Canada are a fact. So, too, is Canada. But Canada's existence does not, and never has, depended solely upon the concept of national uniformity. The Canadian Confederation came into being not to crush but to reconcile regional diversities. It was not a spontaneous response to a strong popular demand. It was an achievement of the head rather than of the heart; the work of governments rather than of peoples. Union, not unity, was the result. That Canada ever came into existence at all is evidence of the community of fear inspired by the threatening United States; that it continued may be explained by the determination of Canadians of all regions to remain outside the American union; that it has grown in strength may be attributed in part at least to the deep spiritual experiences of one major economic depression and two European wars.

The concept of a national loyalty to Canada was, and perhaps always has been, strongest at the top of the academic scale.[1] And so it is that the national consciousness inherent in the union of 1867 found its expression in the writings of Canadian historians. Not that Canadians promptly became nationalists once the British North America Act received the royal assent. The early historians of the Confederate period, the Kingsfords, the Morgans, the Hopkinses, the Hannays, the Casgrains, the Dents and the Beggs, were either colonial or regional in their approach. However, once the Canadian Confederation had succeeded in riding out the constitutional and racial storms of its earlier days, the national idea began to appeal to the imagination of scholars in Canada. The expansion under Arthur Doughty, of the federal archives started in 1871 by Douglas Brymner, gave added impetus to the study of Canadian history; and with the appointment of Charles W. Colby to the Kingsford Chair at McGill and of George M. Wrong to the first chair of history at the University of Toronto, the twentieth century opened in Canada with the beginnings of a native school of national historians.

In the years prior to the outbreak of the first World War in 1914, Canadian historians produced three great co-operative studies, *The Makers of Canada,* a series of biographies of significant figures in Canadian history, from Samuel de Champlain to Sir John A. Macdonald; *The Chronicles of Canada,* semi-popular sketches of Canadian history from Jacques Cartier to Sir Wilfrid Laurier; and the most ambitious of all, the twenty-three volumes of *Canada and Its Provinces.* This last was the most comprehensive study of Canadian history yet to appear; it probably still remains so.

There is no doubt that the War of 1914-18 gave a tremendous fillip to the nationalist idea in Canada. From the war the country emerged not only as a military power in its own right, but, at long last, a member of the world comity of nations. It was natural that Canadian historians, reflecting the new sense of pride in the national achievement, should celebrate

1. See A. R. M. Lower, *Colony to Nation* (Toronto, 1946), 401.

the coming of peace with the establishment of the *Canadian Historical Review* and the founding of The Canadian Historical Association. It was natural, too, that the emphasis in Canadian historical teaching and writing —I speak here of English Canada—should be, during these post-war years, upon the winning of "responsible government" and its logical sequel the attainment of independence. The constant theme in every college class room was the growth of autonomy—*Colony to Nation,* as Arthur Lower, himself a product of this period, later expressed it in the title of his book.

Less obvious, but probably no less influential in turning the minds of those whose hearts had already responded to the national idea towards the study of Canada's political and constitutional development, was the popularity, in all walks of academic life, of the Darwinian theories of biological evolution.[2] Historians and political scientists alike rather fancied the idea of society as a living thing, an organism which was born, evolved from simplicity to complexity, from adolescence to maturity, and ultimately died. Was not this the fate of peoples, nations, empires and civilizations? The Canadian obsession with the growth of autonomy was simply their own version of the anthropomorphic interpretation of history which held so wide an audience after the appearance of Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West.*

But if nationalism is so obvious a feature of Canadian political history and historiography during the first thirty years of the twentieth century, it does not mean that regionalism had ceased to be of significance. It may not have gained a very great number of adherents among academic historians, but it was still very much of a reality in Canadian life. Eager though many Canadians may have been to embrace the national idea, they seemed almost inevitably thrown back upon their own geographical, economic and cultural communities. As we might be inclined to suspect, the regional appeal was still very strong in the Maritimes, in French Canada, and on the prairies; stronger than it was in Ontario, which confidently and persistently identified its own as the representative voice of Canada rather than as merely one of several co-ordinate voices in the national chorus. In the Maritimes, there were still those who flew the black flag of mourning upon the 1st of July in nostalgic memory of a more independent colonial past; in Quebec, the French Canadians were still *Canadiens* rather than Canadians, all the more so since the failure of Ottawa's efforts to dragoon them into the Canadian armed forces; in the west angry farmers rebelled against the traditional Canadian parties and led their own political militia into the House of Commons at Ottawa.

It was not all just a matter of politics. So many aspects of Canadian life seemed to be organized on a regional basis. Business, sports, school systems, even universities, seemed to possess a regional character that no national concept, however strong its emotional appeal, could seem to absorb

2. In W. M. Whitelaw, "Canadian History in Retrospect." (*Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association,* 1956), 41.

or erase. There was no national newspaper or national university quarterly. Even the books that Canadians read—for they did read in those days before the advent of auditory and visual substitutes for books—were books by regional authors dealing with regional themes: Frank Parker Day or Robert Norwood in the Maritimes; Adjutor Rivard, Frère Marie-Victorin and Harry Bernard in Quebec; Robert Stead and Philip Grove on the prairies. Ontario had its Mazo de la Roche—but she, of course, was not regional but Canadian! Critics in the 1920's and 1930's were still, like so many Knights of the Round Table, searching for that Holy Grail of Canadian literature, The Great Canadian Novel. Only in the field of painting did Canadians seem to come to terms with a national spirit; but even the work of The Group of Seven was limited in its appeal to Anglo-Canadians—for few French Canadians would or could cut the apron strings which tied them to their cultural mother, Paris.

By the 1930's historical scholarship began to take cognizance of the regional approach to history. With the passing of the Statute of Westminster autonomy had become a fact, and the old emphasis upon constitutional evolution no longer stirred the imaginations and ambitions of a new generation of students. The mounting complexities of government, the multiplicity of economic problems, the great depression, all seemed to combine with the new intellectual fashion, relativity, to favour the increased use of the regional and sectional approach. Scholars in other disciplines were making increased use of regional divisions for the purpose of collecting data about the country, economists, sociologists, geologists, and linguists. Historians were not insensitive to new intellectual developments; not forever would they continue to ring the all-too-familiar changes on the theme of constitutional evolution.

There always had been some historians in Canada whose interests and whose contributions were essentially regional in character. All students whose reading carries them beyond the currently popular writings of "national" historians such as Costain and Hutchison, are familiar with the works of the early regionalists, of writers like Murdoch, Campbell, Hannay, and Raymond in the Maritimes; of Ferland, Casgrain, Sulte, de Celles, Wood and Chapais in Quebec; of Dent, Casselman, Robertson, Cruikshank and others in Ontario; of Begg, Bryce, Dugas, Morice, Oliver, Scholefield, Gosnell, McBeth and Howay in the prairies and in British Columbia. And to these names could be added a host of others, authors of local, county, and provincial histories of varying value and significance.

The one common feature of the writers whom I have named and those whom I have omitted, is that few of them were academic historians. They were, for the most part, journalists like Hannay, politicians like McLennan, civil servants like Sulte, priests like Morice, or judges like Howay. But to say that they were amateurs, historians by inclination rather than by profession, is not to say that they were incompetent; it is merely to emphasize the fact that the professional historians, such as McArthur, Wrong

and Colby at the universities, and Shortt and Smith at the Federal Archives, were more frequently national or imperial than regional in their historical interests. This unfortunate divergence of interest between the academic historian and his non-academic colleague tended to build up a sense of superiority on the part of the former, which is still one of the features of Canadian academic life—although fortunately it now shows signs of disappearing as academic historians become more deeply involved in the study of Canadian history on a regional basis. But it still does exist; and many university professors of history feel a sense of guilt when they sheepishly confess to an interest in "local" or "provincial" history. The explanation of this particular form of intellectual snobbery probably lies in the fact that so much early regional writing took the form of "petite histoire" and ancestor-hunting, of mere antiquarianism rather than of serious history. No self-respecting M.A. or Ph.D. holding down a university chair could prostitute his talents and his training to this kind of thing.

But academic historians did not continue indefinitely to peer down their noses at regional history. There were always the French Canadians, few of whom have ever extended their historical endeavours beyond the limits of their own province or their own culture-group, men like the Chanoine Lionel Groulx and Gustave Lanctot, who have applied wide knowledge and scientific methods to study of the Ancien Regime and to the history of French Canada; there were also men like Professor F. Landon of Western Ontario who, in the 1920's produced the first of his many notable contributions to Ontario history; and others like Professors D. C. Harvey and J. B. Brebner who wrote upon various aspects of the history of the Maritimes.

During the 1930's these pioneers were joined by many others. The years up to the outbreak of the Second World War, however distressing economically, were fruitful ones from the standpoint of Canadian historiography. Particular mention may be made of the books on Western Canada written by the late Professor A. S. Morton of Saskatchewan, Dr. W. N. Sage of British Columbia, and the present writer. During this decade also, Dr. W. M. Whitelaw wrote his *The Maritimes Before Confederation;* Dr. F. Landon wrote his *Western Ontario and the American Frontier*; and J. P. Pritchett, his *Red River Valley, 1811-1849*. These two books were part of the series of volumes on Canadian-American relations produced under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Another series, *The Frontiers of Settlement*, a combination of history, economics and sociology, were likewise published during the 1930's.

What made the 1930's an important date from the standpoint of regional historical writing in Canada was the fact that historians ceased to regard the regions with which they were concerned merely as a branch of colonial history, or as a relatively insignificant function of imperial history. Particularly was this true of the historical studies of Western Canada. Here historians either applied the Turner thesis to the Canadian

scene or related western Canadian problems to developments in Canada and the United States: they looked outwards from the region to the nation and to the continent and allowed economic and social factors to flow back and across, around and between political and geographical frontiers. The initial works in this field stimulated a whole series of western Canadian regional studies by people like the late W. K. Rolph, Paul Sharpe and J. B. Hedges, the last two mentioned being Americans.

This new interest in regional history has shown no signs of decline since the conclusion of the Second World War in 1945. Rather the reverse has been the case. The Maritimes may have received rather scant attention, it is true, but both French Canada and the Prairie regions have provided the inspiration for a number of historical writers. Here again I shall offer names alone: Marcel Trudel in Quebec, J. J. Talman in Ontario, W. L. Morton in Manitoba, Lewis Thomas in Saskatchewan, and Margaret Ormsby in British Columbia; and among the non-academic historians, Esther Clarke Wright writing about the Maritimes, Robert Rumilly, Quebec, E. C. Guillet, Ontario, and C. C. Lingard, the West. Indeed, the popularity of regional and local history is confirmed by the increasing numbers of local and provincial historical societies across Canada, by the establishment of a local history section of the Canadian Historical Association, by the organization by several provincial governments of historical advisory boards, and by the publishing by The Champlain Society of a series of volumes dealing with Ontario history.

The regional approach to Canadian history is a legitimate and a valuable one. Valuable because it is based upon a frank recognition of the regional realities of Canadian life; valuable because it acknowledges the interrelationship of physical environment and the complexities of cultural and economic arrangements within a given area; valuable because it provides an empirically verifiable interpretation of our national history.

However, one word of warning. Regional history is of little significance by itself alone. It should neither be written nor read in complete isolation. It is, after all, but one stone in the national matrix. The poorest regional histories are those which confine themselves purely to provincial boundaries; the best, those that look outwards from the province to the region; and from the region to the nation. Thus, as an aid in understanding the origin, development, present problems and future policy of Canada, regional history is of the greatest importance. That is its justification; that is its claim to the attention of historians as distinct from antiquarians; that is the yardstick by which its worth is to be measured.

Some of our readers will be pleased to learn that the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus 10, Ohio, is publishing a series of documentary transcripts relating to the War of 1812 in the Northwest. Richard C. Knopf, research historian with the Anthony Wayne Packway Board, is directing the project, and five mimeographed, paper-backed volumes have now appeared.

THE DOMINION GENERAL ELECTION OF 1878 IN ONTARIO*

By David Lee

In 1878 Alexander Mackenzie's Reform Administration went down to disastrous defeat. Five years previously they had taken office amid the hue and cry of the Pacific Scandal. The following year they had decimated the cringing Tories, winning a sixty-seat majority in Parliament and losing only in a single province, British Columbia. From a party heretofore in opposition they had become the triumphant leaders of a forward-looking government, pledged to reform and honesty, economy and progress. They had five years to put their programme into practice, five years to consolidate the position of their party in the public favour. Yet at the first opportunity the Canadian electorate threw them out and returned to power the recently-discredited Conservatives. What was worse, the province of Ontario, the traditional Grit stronghold, home of Brown, Mackenzie, Blake and Cartwright, went Conservative by an overwhelming majority of thirty-eight seats. Here was a political revolution. No wonder the bewildered Grits mourned openly and wondered about the future of their party.

On September 25, 1878, the *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* wrote as follows:

> The triumph of the Conservative Party is complete—nay, it is overwhelming. The new parliament will have a majority of at least seventy. The Ministry must resign and for the honor of the country we hope they will do so as soon as possible . . . . we may confidently expect that [Sir John Macdonald] will inaugurate his policy with a vigourous attempt to give the languishing industries of the country that Protection so much needed for their benefit. It is upon that one question that the country has pronounced. There was no other great issue before the people.[1]

There, then, was the issue, there the result. Little doubt exists that protection was the most widely discussed topic at election time, and no doubt whatever about the result. But were there other reasons behind the Liberal defeat in Ontario in 1878 and if so, what may they have been?

At Confederation the Liberal, or Reform, Party could hardly be described as a national political party.[2] To be sure it had some representation from most regions of Canada. But these groups were scarcely

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* The research for this paper was carried out as part of the work in a seminar course on Canadian Political Parties, conducted by Professor J. T. Saywell in the Department of History, the University of Toronto.

1. *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* (Montreal), September 25, 1878.
2. W. R. Graham, *The Alexander Mackenzie Administration* (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1944); W. R. Graham, *Sir Richard Cartwright and the Liberal Party* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1950); F. H. Underhill, "The Political Ideas of the Upper Canada Reformers" (Canadian Historical Association, *Annual Report,* 1942); F. H. Underhill, "The Development of National Political Parties in Canada" (*Canadian Historical Review,* XXVI (4), December 1945).

agreed on any policy except that of opposition to Sir John Macdonald. The majority hailed from Ontario and it was this section of the party that dominated the policy-making. Their programme might be summed up in the words Honesty, Economy and Reform. They were against abuses of all sorts, in favour of the expansion of their new country, but not in such a way as would encourage extravagence or jobbery. They were staunchly British, but did not have the same fear of the United States that Macdonald showed. This was basically the platform of the Grit party preached for years by George Brown and pursued, albeit not religiously, by Alexander Mackenzie.[3]

There was, however, in the Ontario wing of the party a group of young radicals, men like David Mills and Thomas Moss, who were influenced by the Canada First Movement. The presence of this group in their midst often proved embarrassing to the official leadership of the party, especially when it appeared to be supported, perhaps even led, by such a figure as the Honourable Edward Blake.[4] Into a cabinet already weakened by the kaleidoscopic procession of ministers in and out of office and by the downright dishonesty and the unpopularity of certain of its members, Blake's presence introduced a further measure of discord. Not only was he too radical for some, but he was also Mackenzie's rival for the party leadership.[5] The internal divisions within the administration often made it difficult to arrive at decisions upon matters of policy. Occasionally, the compromises that emerged proved fatal to the party's future welfare.

Perhaps the best illustration is the Liberal railway policy. From Macdonald the Reformers inherited a rather generous set of terms with British Columbia for construction of a Pacific railway. At the time they were made the Grits had opposed these terms, and once in power they resolved to try to change them on the grounds that they were too extravagant, particularly in view of the depression that was beginning to settle upon the land. To negotiate with British Columbia the Mackenzie government sent out several emissaries, including even the Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, who was acting for Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary. The latter had been reluctantly allowed to intervene by a harassed ministry and over the strenuous objections of Blake who at this time was not a member of the administration. But Premier Walkem of British Columbia, scenting some political capital, proved a tough bargainer. Before the dispute was settled the whole country had had time to take a

3. See for example Mackenzie's letter to Brown, January 25, 1877, scolding the latter about his position in Quebec politics, in The Mackenzie Papers, microfilm, No. 1125, Public Archives of Canada (hereafter referred to as PAC).

4. W. S. Wallace, "Edward Blake's Aurora Speech" (*Canadian Historical Review,* II (3), September 1921).

5. The Blake Papers, Provincial Archives of Ontario (hereafter referred to as PAO) contain many letters portraying their rivalry in file II, 4, k containing the Mackenzie-Blake correspondence. See also Graham's *The Alexander Mackenzie Administration,* and M. A. Ormsby, "Mackenzie, the Liberal Party and the Bargain with British Columbia" (*Canadian Historical Review,* XXVI (2), June 1945).

good look at the shortcomings of the Reform railway policy as expounded by the Tories.[6]

The depression which made the Liberals unwilling to spend heavily on the railroad also brought to the fore the other important issue they were to face—Protection. Neither party was traditionally protectionist; both were satisfied by the low revenue tariff in effect in Canada. But the depression which began in 1873 rendered more acute the standing resentment of Canadians against the United States' high tariff barrier. It also made it more difficult for the Canadian government to balance the budget. In 1875 there was a deficit. Everyone wondered whether the Reformers would not take the opportunity of the forthcoming budget to increase the revenue while gaining some political capital by bringing in a modified form of protective tariff. They did not. Macdonald, who himself was not entirely convinced of the soundness of the programme from either the economic or political standpoints, nonetheless adopted protection as the rallying cry in the 1876 byelections. In passing, it might be noted that this refusal to utilize their opportunities was only too characteristic of the federal Liberal administration. They, of course, considered it a virtue to stick by their principles, right or wrong. But others regarded their inflexibility as mere arrogance. Perhaps if the federal Liberals had displayed more of an ability at making practical compromises (like that exhibited by Ontario's Liberal Premier Oliver Mowat in handling the delicate balance between Orange and Roman Catholic voters)[7] they might have found more opportunities to put their principles into practice.

In any case, although the Liberals did not realize the seriousness of the protectionist cry that Sir John Macdonald had just taken up, they did feel the need to repair their party fences. For example, as early as 1875 J. D. Edgar, the unsuccessful Liberal candidate for Monck in 1874, had written to Blake that he and Robert Jaffray (a future Liberal senator) had decided to organize for the party in Toronto. Six months

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6. The successive sets of terms were as follows:
—In 1870, British Columbia offered to enter Confederation if the Dominion would build a coach road to the Pacific from Fort Garry, begin constructing the railway within three years, and spend at least $1,000,000 annually in British Columbia. There was no time limit.
—Macdonald offered to build a railway from the east to the Pacific coast, commencing within two years of British Columbia's entry and completing it within ten years.
—The Mackenzie government's terms, transmitted by J. D. Edgar, were to extend the time limit beyond the original ten years, to build a wagon road and telegraph line in British Columbia, and spend $1,500,000 per annum in the coast province.
—Premier Walkem demanded that the Nanaimo-Esquimalt railway be made part of the Pacific railway and that the entire transcontinental be completed in ten years.
—Lord Carnarvon set the completion date for 1890, advocated immediate surveys on the mainland and building of the Nanaimo-Esquimalt line, and an annual expenditure of $2,000,000 in British Columbia.
—Blake insisted that a cash payment be given British Columbia in lieu of the Esquimalt-Nanaimo line, that taxes should not be increased on any account, and that the agreement be embodied in a proper bill in Parliament.

7. For example, The Blake Papers, PAO, II, 4, m (Private and Confidential), Mowat to Blake, January 27, 1877; *The Guelph Mercury*, September 18, 1878.

later Edgar reported to Mackenzie that they were making fine progress. Blake had taken over the organization at the federal level and a strong executive had been chosen.[8] Again, in the summer of 1876 Macdonald had scarcely begun the famous political picnics when on August 12 Mowat was writing to Mackenzie suggesting that "something of this kind is needed to help our people".[9] In another letter to Mackenzie the prominent London Liberal, John Cameron, stressed the importance of local organization to the party. If they could present in the "actual campaign a policy of reasonable vigour and freshness" he expected to "see Toryism very soundly thrashed", although not so badly as in 1874. He pointed out the danger of mere 'stand-pattism' and suggested that they begin by exposing Macdonald's insincerity on the protection question. He added that the temperance issue was one which should not cause the Reformers any trouble; it had always been their plank, and they should not allow the temperance people to split the vote by running candidates of their own. The Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists and the best part of the Presbyterians were all for temperance, he observed, while the Anglicans were brewery men.[10]

But their efforts notwithstanding, the Liberals lost the more important of the 1876 byelections in Ontario.[11] The importance of the protection issue was still not fully appreciated, but at least some of the Reformers knew why the contests had been lost. Writing to Blake later that summer, the Liberal Minister of Finance Richard Cartwright remarked: "I am sorry to say that the returns show pretty clearly that we owe our defeat to these absurd idiots the grangers, who have apparently taken up the cry 'protection to the farmer'. It would almost serve them right to give the blockheads what they want".[12] But most Liberals felt as did J. S. Smith, who, speaking of the Conservative election prospects, said: "I cannot see what they are building their hopes on; the Protection cry, particularly in the interest of tanners, is about played out—it is perfect humbug. No intelligent farmer, unless prejudiced [?], can be deceived by it . . . . "[13]

All the same, the Liberals planned their 1877 picnic season with care. Mowat remarked in a June letter to Mackenzie that George Pattullo, secretary of the Ontario Reform Association, was making the arrangements and that some engagements were already settled.[14] Later that summer Blake told Mackenzie that the meetings were quite successful

8. The Blake Papers, PAO, II, 4, e, Edgar to Mackenzie, September 14, 1875 and February 19, 1876.

9. The Mackenzie Papers, PAC, 1307, Mowat to Mackenzie, August 12, 1876. Mowat suggested that they should visit Hastings, Prince Edward, Monck and Simcoe South—all of which went Tory in 1878.

10. The Mackenzie Papers, PAC, 1322, Cameron to Mackenzie, August 15, 1876.

11. D'Alton McCarthy won in Cardwell and the brothers T. N. and W. H. Gibbs won in the two Ontarios for the Tories.

12. The Blake Papers, PAO, II, 4, k, Cartwright to Blake, undated.

13. *Ibid.*, II, 5, Smith to Blake, January 4, 1877.

14. The Mackenzie Papers, PAC, 1631, Mowat to Mackenzie, June 18, 1877.

according to all reports.[15] The heavy round of political picnics out on the hustings indicated that both parties were already deeply involved in campaigning for the next general election. The question facing Mackenzie was when he should hold it. Personally, he preferred the late spring or early summer of 1878[16] as some of his colleagues advised. But for many reasons, chiefly to gain time to counteract Tory propaganda, he decided to wait until the fall.[17] The date was finally settled for September 17, with the western elections delayed several weeks further. As the time drew nearer, there was a flurry of letters back and forth among the Liberal leaders and their lieutenants. Reports came in from the various ridings, such as those prepared by Thomas Gibson, member of the provincial legislature for North Huron, which dealt in detail with the party's prospects for the Huron seats.[18] On July 2, Mackenzie reported favourably on the situation both in the west of Ontario and in the Ottawa region.[19]

The tone grew more vituperative as the campaign wore on. Under the headline of "Done and Undone" the Toronto *Mail* of August 14 indicted the administration:

> The programme with which Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues took office in 1873 was as follows:
>
> (1) No Coalitions.
> (2) Economy.
> (3) Civil Service Reform.
> (4) Senate Re-organization.
> (5) Reduction of the Number of Cabinet Ministers.
> (6) Reduction of the Governor-General's Salary.
> (7) Separation of Dominion and Local Politics.
> (8) Elevation of the Standard.
> (9) Thorough Independence of Parliament.
> (10) Parliamentary Control of Public Expenditure.
>
> These were the ten great principles. Not one of them has been observed. We challenge the organs to name a single one which the Premier has even attempted to carry out in office.[20]

Earlier *The Mail* had said that the government "stands convicted of incapacity, of extravagance, of corruption, of hostility to remedial measures for existing distress and of what looks like tampering with the unclean thing—calculated disloyalty and conspired treason."[21] Again, on August 19, *The Mail* observed: "Mackenzie could doubtless supervise the construction of a Public Work with credit, but he is manifestly incapable of protecting and initiating great public undertakings successfully."[22] On

15. *Ibid.*, 1655, Blake to Mackenzie, August 16, 1877.
16. *Ibid.*, Mackenzie to Blake, May 22, 1878.
17. *Ibid.*, 1899, Mackenzie to Brown, May 1878.
18. The Blake Papers, PAO, II, 5, Gibson to Blake, February 1, 1877.
19. *Ibid.*, II, 4, k, Mackenzie to Blake, July 2, 1878.
20. *The Mail* (Toronto), August 14, 1878.
21. *Ibid.*, August 7, 1878.
22. *Ibid.*, August 19, 1878.

September 3, under the head "Vote Against The Government", *The Mail* outlined the reasons for rejecting Mackenzie:

> The organs are asking why the Mackenzie Government should be voted out on the 17th. Here are some of the principal reasons:
>
> (1) Because they have violated in office the principles they professed when in Opposition . . .
>
> (2) Because although they promised in the days of prosperity to cut down the general expenditure, they have largely increased it in a period of unparalleled depression . . .
>
> (3) Because, while flaunting their purity, they have been guilty of gross and nefarious jobs by which the treasury has suffered and the taxpayer's burdens been increased . . .
>
> (4) Because they have made ministers of men admittedly unfit to govern the country or advise the Crown in any capacity . . .
>
> (5) Because they have shown themselves utterly incapable of governing the country to its advantage . . .
>
> (6) Because they have made no effort during the past five years to relieve the prevailing distress, and have no policy, but the same fly-on-the-wheel policy for the future . . . [23]

Die Berliner Journal defended the Mackenzie administration. On May 2, 1878 it editorialized: "A comparison of the Reform and Tory Administrations produces an astonishing result. The latter was reckless and rash in its policy, the former was prudent and careful; the latter was spendthrift and corrupt, the former economical and honest". Then, going on to list the accomplishments of the Grits, carefully noting their programme of reform, retrenchment, better regulation of money, their keeping down the tariff, the *Journal* observed: "The Administration deserves praise instead of blame, that they avoided raising barriers merely with a protective tariff as goal, a tariff by which the farmers, the merchants, artisans and ordinary workers must make a sacrifice in order that part of the manufacturers, most of whom are better off than the lower classes, may become even richer."[24] On August 1 the paper reiterated and elaborated upon this stand with a strong article explaining just what a protective tariff would mean for the people as a whole.[25]

The arguments on behalf of the Mackenzie government were sustained by the Bobcaygeon *Independent* (which, though Conservative-minded, could not accept such a man as Macdonald), and by the Toronto *Globe*. But the Sarnia *Observer,* in Mackenzie's own riding, was perhaps the strongest of all in its enthusiasm for the Liberal cause and in its predictions of a party victory:

> The issue of no election contest that has taken place in Canada in the last 20 years has been of more vital importance than that which will be decided on the 17th of next month. It is not enough that the Liberal Party shall achieve a triumph; that is a foregone conclusion . . . . No greater injury can be inflicted

23. *Ibid.,* September 3, 1878.
24. *Die Berliner Journal* (Berlin, Ontario), May 2, 1878. Translation by the author.
25. *Ibid.,* August 1, 1878.

on public morals than the too hasty forgiveness of public crimes . . . . Every intelligent elector knows, be he Liberal or Conservative, that Sir John Macdonald's so-called National Policy is a delusion and a snare and is only brought forward now to be cast aside when the purposes of its author shall have been secured . . . [It] means making the rich richer, and the poor poorer . . . [26]

A week later the *Observer* added: "So far as we can learn from our exchanges or from other sources of information, the outlook was never so favourable for the Reform Party as at the present election" and it went on to predict that the Liberals would increase their majority in Ontario, split in Quebec, win the Maritimes, and as for the West, it did not matter. It concluded: "On the whole, therefore, there is no likelihood that any material change will take place in the relative strength of the two parties at the coming election."[27]

On September 13 the campaign was summed up with the following peroration:

Electors, let there be no mistake! The great question to be decided on the 17th of September is whether the unrepentant perpetrator of the Pacific Scandal iniquity and the leader of the most extravagant and reckless government that Canada ever had shall be returned to power.

The plain issue before the electors is whether Mr. Alexander Mackenzie or Sir John A. Macdonald will be at the head of the government for the next five years. Electors of Lambton, compare the record of these two men and mark your ballot for the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie.

Look on this position	and on this.
British connection	Hostile tariff to England
Foreign trade	Ruin of Maritimes Interests
Revenue tariff	Retaliatory war with the States.
Domestic harmony	Stoppage of Lumber trade
Light taxation	High taxes
Cheap food	Dear food and fuel
Cheap clothing	Dear furniture and tools
Cheap fuel	The Capitalist
Cheap tools	enriched and the
All men treated equally	poor man crushed.[28]

Of course Liberal papers had no monopoly of stirring appeals to the electorate's sense of public duty, as the following from *The Mail* of August 20 demonstrated:

There is given to every man the opportunity to serve his country. Four weeks from to-day the greatest crisis in this country's history will culminate. The electors will then have the chance to decide whether Canada can continue under a regime which has been marked by universal disaster or pass under the sway of wiser and more experienced men whose administration from 1867-1873 was attended by universal prosperity and whose policy as foreshadowed, promises a return to those happy days.[29]

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26. Sarnia *Observer*, August 30, 1878.
27. *Ibid.*, September 6, 1878.
28. *Ibid.*, September 13, 1878.
29. *The Mail*, August 20, 1878.

Ontario Liberals must have awaited the election results with little doubt of the outcome, at least insofar as their province was concerned. For had they not worked hard, and was Ontario not always strongly Liberal? Yet, as we know, the Grits were overwhelmed, losing by thirty-eight seats.[30] How could this be? On the morrow of the election John Ross Robertson offered this shrewd interpretation of the outcome in the Toronto *Evening Telegram*:

> The result of the general elections has been a great surprise—we may say a startling surprise; for even the most sanguine of Conservatives could not have expected so decided a triumph. Many Conservatives, indeed, would not have been surprised if the Mackenzie Administration had succeeded in squeezing in again by a bare majority. The result, however, shows that the feeling in favour of such a readjustment of the tariff as will give Canadian industry fair play was stronger and more general than anybody supposed—for, of course, this was the main plank upon which the Conservative Party sailed into power. Besides the feeling in favour of a National Policy, there was the unpopularity of one or two members of Mr. Mackenzie's Government, upon the top of which we must pile the determination of the country to resist the domination and resent the abuse of Mr. George Brown and his newspaper. And if we wish to seek for other causes, we may find a very potent one in the pretty general feeling of disappointment in the ranks of Mr. Mackenzie's Reformers, who frankly admit that the leaders of their party have not fulfilled in power the expectations formed of them in opposition. This feeling of disappointment had a dampening or depressing effect, and prevented that exertion in the interest of the party that would otherwise have been forthcoming. Besides all this Mr. Mackenzie is wholly lacking in tact, and is too stubborn in enforcing his ideas.
>
> The defeat of the Reform Party is even more significant than appears on the surface. Mr. Mackenzie's candidates had all the advantage the influence of two Governments could give them . . . . [It] is a rebuke to the opponents of the National policy of the most pronounced and unmistakeable character.[31]

This analysis remains a fair general survey of the causes of the electoral upheaval of 1878. Yet it would be valuable to undertake a more detailed look at the outcome to see whether the same pattern of causes and of results was consistent throughout the province. Fortunately the Toronto Reference Library possesses the findings of just such a detailed contemporary investigation into the debacle of 1878 undertaken by George Pattullo, the Liberal organizer for Ontario. Thirty-six replies have been preserved to a questionnaire sent by Pattullo to local correspondents seeking the answers to the following questions:

> 1) What were the chief causes, political or otherwise, which affected the result of the recent election in your riding?
>
> 2) What were the practical defects and merits of the Liberal candidate's canvass, of the general management of the campaign, and of the Party organization throughout the riding?
>
> 3) Have you reason to believe that money or other improper influences were made use of by our opponents?

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30. *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1879,* edited by C. H. Mackintosh (Ottawa, 1879).

31. *The Evening Telegram* (Toronto), September 18, 1878.

THE ONTARIO RIDINGS IN THE DOMINION GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1874 AND 1878

Based on Robbins' Political Charts of Canada
(Walker, Miles and Co., Toronto, 1879)

4) About what proportion of the Reform vote was unpolled?

5) What was the character and activity of the Conservative organization during the contest? And was it aided by other organizations not ostensibly political?

6) Are there any Young Men's Liberal Associations in the riding? And would their general extension be practicable and advantageous? How did the majority of the young men vote in the recent contest?

7) How will the result of the recent contest affect the approaching elections for the Ontario Assembly in the riding?

8) What suggestion can you offer as to organization or any other respect in the interest of the Reform Party for the future in your riding?

The invaluable information from the Pattullo Papers may be supplemented by the evaluations and comments of local newspapers. The result is a fairly detailed survey of the reasons for the outcome in the various sections of Ontario, which for the purposes of this study can be grouped in five rather arbitrary regional divisions: Eastern Ontario, comprising the portion east of Prince Edward and Hastings ridings; Central Ontario, extending west to the line formed by the west boundaries of Halton, Cardwell and Simcoe; the Niagara Peninsula, including Haldimand, the Brants and the Wentworths; Western Ontario, the remainder of the province; and the urban ridings of London, Hamilton, Toronto, Kingston and Ottawa.

Previous to 1878 the eastern part of the province had divided fairly evenly. Of the twenty-two ridings, ten were traditionally Grit, nine Conservative, but in 1874 the Liberals carried thirteen. Four years later this situation was radically altered. Mainly because of the protection cry and the hard times[32] the Tories were able to win eleven seats from the hard-pressed Reformers and to reduce their representation to two seats, both retained by slender margins. In the replies to the Pattullo questionnaire it was asserted that in this region the Conservatives had succeeded in supplementing the Orange vote with a large part of the Catholic vote,[33] that overconfidence had contributed in no small way to the Liberal defeat,[34] and that in a number of contests the result could have gone either way.

Of the twenty seats in Central Ontario only eight could be called traditionally Liberal ridings, the two Ontarios were doubtful, and ten were usually Conservative. Six of these last had gone Reform in 1874 under the influence of the Pacific Scandal and the Liberals had managed to win sixteen seats; now in 1878 the situation was reversed. There was little wonder that the customary Tory seats should have remained Conservative in an obviously favourable election, nor that the six seats lost in 1874 should have returned to the fold. The Peterboroughs followed this pattern. John Bertram, writing from Peterborough, stated that the reason for the Liberal loss was protection, pure and simple: "Just like every-

32. The Pattullo Papers, Toronto Reference Library (hereafter referred to as TRL), for example the replies from Grenville and Lennox.

33. *Ibid.*, the replies from Glengarry, Lanark, and especially Prescott.

34. *Ibid.*, the replies from Leeds and Grenville North, and Grenville South.

where, the people were duped by the National Policy". The Grits failed to get either the labour or the Catholic vote, according to Bertram, who went on to give details of the Conservative offers and finished his letter with the sentence: "I expected to be beaten because in place of being able to make a raid into their ranks, my time was largely taken up with endeavouring to strengthen the knees of weak brethren."[35] The Toronto *National,* two days after the election, claimed that the Grits had tried to blackmail the Conservative candidates in the Peterboroughs (both of whom were temperance men) with the Licensed Victuallers' Association. However, the ruse did not work.[36]

The Northumberlands, Algoma and North York were other ridings which had elected Liberals in 1874 and now reverted to the Conservatives. *The Bradford Herald* (in the last-named constituency) printed a lengthy editorial on Thursday, September 26, 1878 which attributed the swing to the moderate or independent voter:

> Besides the Reformers and Conservatives who stood close to their standard at the elections we have another class, the moderate-minded men—liberal we might say. These are the men who really turn elections, and they have no doubt greatly assisted in piling up the large majorities for the Conservatives . . . . They do not blindly obey the call of either leader, but look all questions fairly in the face . . . . With them it is not a question of men but of measures. It is needless to point out that this class comprises a large portion of the electors and that these men have gone in solid phalanx for the National Policy . . .
>
> These then are the men who have turned the Mackenzie Administration out, and it is nonsense for the *Globe* or any other paper to assert that the Reform Ministry was defeated through the ignorance of the electors . . . [37]

But it was the loss of six of the traditionally Grit seats that hurt the most. Probably one main reason was overconfidence; *The Times and Simcoe Expositor* certainly thought so:

> When we cast around for the causes which led to the defeat of the Reform candidate, it seems to us that they are not difficult to find. McCarthy is not a whit more popular to-day than he was in 1874 (when he came out of his last fight with Mr. Cook 74 behind). Our friends were entirely too sanguine and it was not until the close of the canvass they warmed to the work and displayed that vigour and determination necessary to carry a contest in a constituency so closely divided as this . . . . Our opponents began weeks before we did and fought with all the energy of despair.[38]

The paper was talking about Simcoe North, but a similar statement was on the lips of many Reformers in other ridings. In addition, there were often local issues. The Halton Liberals were plagued by personal divisions.[39] The Conservatives won in York East because of the energy and ability of their candidate, according to *The National.*[40] But a large

35. The Mackenzie Papers, PAC, 2187, Bertram to Mackenzie, December 10, 1878.
36. *The National* (Toronto), September 19, 1878.
37. *Bradford Herald,* September 26, 1878.
38. *The Times and Simcoe Expositor* (North Simcoe), September 26, 1878.
39. The Pattullo Papers, TRL, Halton reply.
40. *The National,* September 19, 1878.

number of seats, such as York West and Durham East, were won handily by the Conservative machine. Taking it all in all, Reformers in Central Ontario had little cause to rejoice. Their only ray of comfort came from the fickle Ontarios where the Gibbs brothers, the victors in the 1876 by-elections, were defeated. The *Oshawa Vindicator* felt that the Conservatives had lost because of the corrupt, though thorough, Liberal campaign, and the divisions in the Tory camp.[41] The *Oshawa Reformer*, however, felt that "Protection had been argued and had carried the day in one election in the riding already, and people had had time to examine it and form a careful opinion upon it . . ."[42] The *North Ontario Observer* said that "the defeat of the late member for Ontario North is attributable to the Roman Catholic vote which went in a solid mass for the Ministerialist candidate . . . "[43] Obviously it is difficult to make hard and fast statements concerning the voting habits of ethnic or religious groups.

The Niagara area was one of relatively little change in 1878. Of the nine seats, six were usually Grit, two Tory. In 1874 the Liberals carried seven. Four years later they lost two and gained one new seat. In several ridings, as reported by Pattullo's correspondents, protection was the main reason.[44] This is borne out by the *Oshawa Reformer*: "In the Edgar election Protection was a new thing and its opponents treated it as scarcely worth serious opposition but it caught the ear of the public and had to be met by fair argument".[45] J. D. Edgar was again the unsuccessful (by 28 votes) Liberal candidate in Monck.

Western Ontario was traditionally the home of Grittism. Fourteen of the twenty-eight seats were Reform, three more probably Reform. In this region the Tories could only count upon three seats, with four more probable. The four remaining seats were doubtful. In 1874 the Liberals had carried twenty, but in 1878 the Conservatives surprised everyone by winning sixteen, keeping all their own seats and gaining nine from the Reformers. Even the seats held by the Liberals were retained with smaller majorities. In Norfolk North John Charlton, replying to Pattullo, said that the reason for the Liberal disaster was the Tory slogan of "Protection to Farmers", adding that "It could have defeated us if no attention had been given to it before the contest commenced".[46] In a letter to Mackenzie in December he elaborated: "All of us underrated the power of humbug", and "Such apathy will not be likely to mar the fortunes of our party again very soon".[47] Many, like James Trow, victorious Liberal candidate in Perth South, attributed the catastrophe to the ignorance of the average voter: "The result proves conclusively that the franchise is

41. *Oshawa Vindicator,* September 25, 1878.
42. *Oshawa Reformer,* as quoted in *The Globe* (Toronto), September 24, 1878.
43. *North Ontario Observer* (Port Perry), September 17, 1878.
44. The Pattullo Papers, TRL, replies for Haldimand and Brant.
45. *Oshawa Reformer,* as quoted in *The Globe,* September 24, 1878.
46. The Pattullo Papers, TRL, reply from Charlton in Norfolk North.
47. The Mackenzie Papers, PAC, 2189, Charlton to Mackenzie, December 14, 1878.

too far extended—the uneducated rabble are gullable [sic]."[48] Local editors went on to predict the ruin that would attend the putting into effect of such a policy, adding the proviso that the Conservatives would probably not be so rash.[49] But the Guelph *Daily Mercury* raised an unwonted tone of reproach against the Reform leadership: "It is a clear case that the Liberals have been beaten, and that mainly by the obstinacy of their leaders, who while imperilling no principle, refused to give up one iota of their policy when they might have gracefully yielded to popular demand, especially as they required additional revenues to meet current expenses."[50]

Protection was the chief cause of Reform defeats in most of the ridings that they lost but there were other additional reasons in certain particular instances. In Bruce South the absence in England of Edward Blake, the Liberal candidate, was the prime factor.[51] The reply from Grey South listed the time of the election—harvest season—as an important cause of defeat; apparently this had greater adverse effect on the Grit than upon the Tory campaign. In Middlesex North R. C. Scatcherd was defeated by his Conservative opponent by a mere eight ballots. Many other ridings were lost because the Liberals failed to campaign sufficiently against the National Policy at the grass-roots level. However, according to the Pattullo questionnaire and *The National,* in the Waterloos the Tories insured their success with a protectionist programme by adding an appeal to German nationalism. Two-thirds of the electors, as well as both the victorious candidates, were German.[52]

The cities, a total of nine seats, with the exception of Kingston went solidly for the National Policy, as might be expected. Some of the Liberal candidates were hampered by the fact that they personally were sympathetic with the cause of limited protection. This was the case in Toronto Centre and in both the Hamilton ridings.[53] The Tories carried Ottawa without difficulty, and London as well. To *The Western Advertiser and Weekly Liberal,* the result came as a "surprise" and the editors found themselves "at a loss to account for the midsummer madness which seems to have seized the electors of this province especially".[54] But the London *Free Press* gloated: "And what could be more gratifying to the country? During five years, the Liberal Conservative Opposition has been warning, entreating the Government to do something for the benefit of the country. But they refused! . . . They have sinned besides in a hundred ways and

48. The Pattullo Papers, TRL, reply of James Trow in Perth South. Also *The Globe,* September 19, 1878; and *Ingersoll Chronicle,* quoted in *The Globe,* September 24, 1878.

49. See for example *Ingersoll Chronicle,* quoted in *The Globe,* September 24, 1878.

50. The *Daily Mercury* (Guelph), September 18, 1878.

51. The Pattullo Papers, TRL, replies from Bruce South.

52. *Ibid.,* reply from Waterloo North, also *The National,* September 19, 1878. In Perth North there was a similar situation though the German element was not so large.

53. *The Evening Telegram,* September 20, 1878.

54. *The Western Advertiser and Weekly Liberal* (London and Toronto), September 20, 1878.

have forfeited a hundred promises . . . And now the Day of Retribution has overtaken them . . . ."[55]

Kingston was the chief and almost sole cause for Grit rejoicing. That Sir John Macdonald should be defeated in his own riding in his hour of triumph is perhaps surprising to present-day readers. But the result was no surprise to *The Globe,* which, forgetful of the facts that Sir John's majorities had been decreasing and that his opponent Alexander Gunn had made a very thorough canvass, exulted: "It is worthy of notice how persistently public opinion frowns down upon the perpetrators of the Pacific Scandal. This is one of the satisfactory features of the contest and seems to indicate that, however the public mind may be confused by political quackery, it revolts against condoning political crimes."[56]

But in general the Liberals could discern few rays of light. They had been virtually eliminated from Eastern Ontario, from Central Ontario, and from the cities; and in the western part of the province, their traditional stronghold, their eighteen successful candidates were outnumbered by the nineteen Tories. *The Globe,* naturally, had a good deal to say about the outcome. On the day after the election this editorial expressed their concern and disappointment:

> Contrary to the anticipations of most persons, the verdict of the electors at the ballot-boxes yesterday was unfavourable to Mr. Mackenzie's Administration . . . .
>
> We shall not affect indifference to this event. We cannot regard it otherwise than with the deepest regret as a serious blow to the prosperity of the Dominion. The issue on which the electoral contest mainly turned was the promise of Sir John A. Macdonald and his supporters, if elected, to enforce a system of thorough protection for home manufacturing by the imposition of increased duties; and to retaliate against the United States by the imposition against them of the same prohibitory Customs duties they now levy. That a policy so short-sighted should have been endorsed by the Canadian people at the polls is a national misfortune.
>
> The causes that contributed to this startling change of the public sentiment are not difficult to discover. The commercial depression still existing over the North American continent and the restless desire for some undefined change that would bring about "better times", had, no doubt, very much to do with it. The seductive delusion held out to the weaker sort of acquiring wealth quickly by shutting out foreign commodities and increasing largely the price of home manufactures, drove many victims after it. And the thorough organization of the Tory party for propagating their sentiments and bringing out their men did the rest.[57]

This was a more realistic appraisal than was presented in an article of the following day, entitled "How the Battle Was Lost". According to this, Ontario had been humbugged completely. The Tories with their hundreds of workers had apparently gone around secretly speaking to all those who did not take an interest in affairs, both farmers and merchants, and had slyly persuaded them of the advantages of the National Policy. *The Globe* was even driven to suggest that "unfortunately

55. *The Free Press* (London), September 18, 1878.
56. *The Globe,* September 19, 1878.
57. *Ibid.,* September 18, 1878.

even in civilized Ontario it is to be feared that the bulk of the farmers never read a newspaper at all . . . ."[58], a charge *The Mail* was quick to answer: "The great issues upon which the contest was fought out were not talked in secret or discussed in whispers. They were presented fairly and squarely from thousands of platforms in all parts of the Dominion and in the columns of a pretty vigourous press. The people were well-informed, and quite understood what they were doing when they voted condemnation of the government . . ."[59]

Why was the Reform administration defeated in 1878? There is little doubt that protection was the most important reason. Given the hard times and the high American tariff wall the protectionist cry made a very effective campaign issue. But two more conditions had to be fulfilled to encompass the rout of the Liberals. In the first place, the Grits were badly overconfident. Perhaps they had good cause for their optimism, but in any event theirs was the mentality of people who simply could not understand why others did not see eye to eye with them. To the Grit mind it was inconceivable that anyone could vote in favour of such a platform and record as the one the Conservatives offered the electorate in 1878. All the Liberals had to do, they felt, was simply to tell the people about it and virtue would automatically triumph over sin and truth over error. On the other hand the Tories were dynamic, eager and hard-working. Besides the forces usually working for each party, these were what turned the scale. They caused the political revolution of 1878.

But was it such an upheaval? *The Globe* pointed out that thirty-four of the seats won by Tories in Ontario were carried by majorities of fewer than 150 votes.[60] Moreover, when the popular vote is examined, it becomes apparent that the change over the province as a whole amounted to less than five per cent, or one voter in twenty.[61] It is only fair to conclude that what has been hailed as a great revolution right from the day the returns appeared, does not, upon investigation, prove to be so broad and startling a change of popular opinion. On the other hand, the 1878 election did mark the beginning of the end of the long Liberal hegemony in Ontario.[62] And perhaps, in the long run, it is in this fact that students of Canadian politics will discern the main significance of the federal general election of 1878 in Ontario.

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58. *Ibid.*, September 19, 1878.
59. *The Mail,* September 20, 1878.
60. *The Globe,* September 25, 1878.
61. Table of the popular vote in 1874 and 1878:

	Liberal		Conservative		Others
1874	90,614	(52.2%)	82,511	(47.5%)	447 (0.3%)
1878	123,791	(47.8%)	135,238	(52.2%)	130 (negligible)

In 1878 there were no acclamations in Ontario, whereas in 1874 there had been fifteen, of which thirteen went to the Liberals. These extra contests increased the total popular vote in 1878, probably the Liberals' vote more than that of the Conservatives.

62. No less than 57 years were to elapse before the Liberals (in 1935) again elected more members to the House of Commons from Ontario than did the Conservatives, through in the 1896 general election both parties were tied with 43 members apiece (along with one Independent Conservative, three Patrons of Industry, and two Independents).

CAUSES OF DEFEAT CITED BY PATTULLO'S CORRESPONDENTS

Riding	Result in 1878	Protection and Trade	Tory organization	Grit organization	Overconfidence	Temperance & Liquor	Minorities	Pressure Groups	Miscellaneous
Addington	Cons.	a	a	b	b			b	
Brant North	Lib.	a				b			
Bruce North	Lib.								
Bruce South	Cons.	a	b		a	b			b
Durham West	Lib.	a	b	b					
Glengarry	Cons.	aa	b	a			b		
Grenville South	Lib.	a		b	b				b
Grey East	Cons.	b		a	a	b		a	
Grey South	Cons.	a	b	a	a	b		a	b
Haldimand	Lib.	b	b						b
Halton	Cons.	b	b	a	a	b		b	
Hastings East	Cons.		b	b					
Hastings North	Cons.	b	a					b	
Huron Centre	Lib.	a	a	b	b				
Huron North	Cons.	a	a	b	b				
Huron South	Lib.		b					b	
Lanark South	Cons.	b					a	a	
Leeds & Grenville	Cons.	a		a	a			b	
Lennox	Cons.	a	b	b	b			b	
London	Cons.	a		b					
Middlesex East	Cons.	a	b						
Muskoka	Lib.			b	b				
Norfolk North	Lib.	b						b	
Norfolk South	Cons.	a	b	b		a		b	
Northumberland West	Cons.			a					
Perth North	Cons.	b	a						
Perth South	Lib.	a	b	b	b			b	
Prescott	Cons.			b			a	a	
Renfrew North	Cons.	a		b				b	
Renfrew South	Cons.	a	b	b					
Stormont	Cons.	a	b	b					
Waterloo North	Cons.	b	b			b	a		
Wellington Centre	Cons.	b				b		b	
York East	Cons.	a	b	b	b	b			

a—indicates an important reason. b—indicates a less important reason.

Protection and Trade—includes hard times and the depression; such slogans as "incidental protection," "protection to the farmers" and "reciprocity of trade or reciprocity of tariff."

Conservative organization and strength—Besides the strong organization of the Tory party generally for this election, many of the ridings were Conservative to begin with.

Grit organization and planning—This includes friction in local organization, small canvass, lack of preparation, timing of the election, etc.

Overconfidence and unpolled vote—In many ridings the Liberals did not turn out to vote, perhaps from overconfidence or lack of urging from the local organization. In some cases, however, they liked the National Policy but did not want to vote Tory, hence abstained from voting.

Temperance and liquor—The Scott Act, Dunkin Act and Crooks Act caused some discussion. Occasionally the Temperance people would run their own candidate.

Minorities—The Germans, by and large, were in favour of the National Policy, especially in Perth North and the Waterloos. The latter two were influenced by a German nationalist cry.

Pressure Groups—Besides the Orangemen, who were generally Tory, there were the Licensed Victuallers' Association and the Manufacturers' Association, both Tory, and often Catholic and Irish groups—also Tory.

Miscellaneous—This title includes the absence of candidates, e.g., Edward Blake in Bruce South; and local causes of one sort or another not already included.

ONTARIO RESULTS IN FEDERAL GENERAL ELECTIONS 1867-1878

Constituencies	1867	1872	1874	1878
Addington	C.	L.	L.	C.
Algoma	C.	C.	L.	C.
Bothwell	L.	L.	L.	L.
Brant, North	C.	L.	L.	L.
Brant, South	L.	L.	L.	L.
Brockville	C.	L.	L.	C.
Bruce, North	C.	L.	L.	L.
Bruce, South	C.	L.	L.	C.
Cardwell	C.	C.	C.	C.
Carleton, Ont.	C.	C.	C.	C.
Cornwall	L.	C.	L.	C.
Dundas	C.	L.	L.	C.
Durham East	C.	L.	L.	C.
Durham West	L.	L.	L.	L.
Elgin, East	C.	L.	L.	C.
Elgin, West	C.	L.	L.	L.
Essex	C.	C.	L.	C.
Frontenac	C.	C.	C.	C.
Glengarry	L.	L.	L.	C.
Grenville, South	C.	L.	L.	L
Grey, East	*	C.	C.	C.
Grey, North	L.	L.	L.	C.
Grey, South	C.	L.	L.	C.
Haldimand	L.	L.	L.	L.
Halton	L.	L.	L.	C
Hamilton	L.	C.	L.	C.
	*	C.	L.	C.
Hastings, East	C.	C.	C.	C.
Hastings, North	C.	C.	C.	C.
Hastings, West	C.	C.	C.	C.
Huron, Centre	*	L.	L.	L.
Huron, North	L.	C.	C.	C.
Huron, South	L.	L.	C.	L.
Kent, Ont.	C.	C.	C.	C.
Kingston	C.	C.	C.	L.
Lambton	L.	L.	L.	L.

ONTARIO RESULTS IN FEDERAL GENERAL ELECTIONS 1867-1878 (cont.)

Constituencies	1867	1872	1874	1878
Lanark, North	L.	L.	L.	L.
Lanark, South	C.	C.	C.	C.
Leeds-Grenville North	C.	C.	C.	C.
Leeds, South	C.	L.	C.	C.
Lennox	C.	L.	L.	C.
Lincoln	L.	L.	L.	C.
London	C.	C.	C.	C.
Middlesex, East	C.	C.	C.	C.
Middlesex, North	L.	L.	L.	C.
Middlesex, West	C.	L.	L.	L.
Monck	C.	L.	C.	C.
Muskoka	*	L.	L.	L.
Niagara	C.	C.	C.	L.
Norfolk, North	C.	L.	L.	L.
Norfolk, South	L.	C.	C.	C.
Northumberland, East	C.	C.	L.	C.
Northumberland, West	C.	C.	L.	C.
Ontario, North	L.	C.	L.	L.
Ontario, South	C.	C.	L.	L.
Ottawa City	L.	C.	C.	C.
	*	C.	L.	C.
Oxford, North	L.	L.	L.	L.
Oxford, South	L.	L.	L.	L.
Peel	C.	L.	L.	C.
Perth, North	L.	C.	C.	C.
Perth, South	L.	L.	L.	L.
Peterborough East	C.	C.	L.	L.
Peterborough West	C.	C.	L.	C.
Prescott	L.	L.	L.	C.
Prince Edward	L.	L.	L.	C.
Renfrew, North	C.	L.	C.	C.
Renfrew, South	L.	C.	L.	C.
Russell	C.	C.	L.	C.
Simcoe, North	L.	L.	L.	C.
Simcoe, South	C.	C.	C.	C.
Stormont	C.	L.	L.	C.
Toronto, Centre	*	L.	L.	C.
Toronto, East	C.	C.	C.	C.
Toronto, West	C.	C.	L.	C.
Victoria, Ont. North	L.	C.	C.	C.
Victoria, Ont. South	L.	C.	C.	C.
Waterloo, North	L.	L.	L.	C.
Waterloo, South	L.	L.	L.	C.
Welland	C.	C.	L.	C.
Wellington, Centre	L.	L.	C.	C.
Wellington, North	C.	L.	L.	.C
Wellington, South	L.	L.	L.	L.
Wentworth, North	L.	L.	L.	L.
Wentworth, South	L.	L.	L.	L.
York, East	L.	L.	L.	C.
York, West	L.	L.	L.	C.
York, North	C.	C.	L.	.C
Totals	C. 46	L. 49	L. 61	C. 63
	L. 36	C. 39	C. 27	L. 25

*New seats created in 1872.

Note: Any tabulation of party standing is complicated by the vagueness of party names in indicating the affiliation of members, especially in 1867, but still true in 1878.

NATIONAL VS. PROVINCIAL LOYALTY: THE ONTARIO WESTERN BOUNDARY DISPUTE, 1883 - 1884

By Kenneth A. MacKirdy

The story of the development of Canadian national consciousness can be written in terms of a conflict of loyalties. Although clashes of loyalties are a common human experience most of them are easily resolved because everyone, of necessity, though usually subconsciously, has established an order of priority. The reality of such a conflict becomes apparent only when the claim is made at a time when the priorities of two allegiances are shifting or obscure. In 1861 Robert E. Lee and other southern officers in the armed services of the United States had to decide between the claims of their states, which had seceded from the Union, and of the nation, whose integrity they had pledged themselves to maintain. The happy absence of a true counterpart of the American Civil War has spared Canadians the necessity of making such a clear-cut decision, but, as members of the British Empire, Canadians have a further claim on their allegiance which is absent in independent political entities such as the United States. From the establishment of the Dominion Canadians have been confronted with (and often confounded by) three entities which claimed their allegiance: their province, the Dominion, and one variously described as "The Empire" or the "Mother Country".

John A. Macdonald, as chief architect of the new nation, was aware of the danger of strong local patriotism. Commenting in 1864 upon the American Civil War then still in progress he observed: "No general feeling of patriotism exists in the United States. In occasions of difficulty each man sticks to his individual State. Mr. Stephens, the present Vice President [of the Confederacy] was a strong Union man, yet, when the time came, he went with his State".[1] He strove to design a constitution for the new federation which would prevent the development of a states' rights movement in Canada. In 1865 he boasted that the Quebec Terms had achieved this end,[2] but less than a year and a half after the establishment of the Dominion he confessed to the newly arrived Governor General designate, "In fact, the question that convulsed the United States and ended in Civil War, commonly known as the 'States Rights' question, has already made its appearance in Canada!"[3]

A strong provincial loyalty has remained a feature of the Canadian scene and the role of a doughty defender of provincial rights has been popular among provincial politicians. Few have played it as successfully as Sir Oliver Mowat. When he assumed the premiership of Ontario in

1. Joseph Pope, *Confederation: being a series of hitherto unpublished documents bearing on the British North America Act* (Toronto, 1895), 86.
2. Prov. of Canada, Parl., *Confederation Debates*, 33.
3. Macdonald to Sir John Young (1868), as quoted in N. McL. Rogers, "Genesis of Provincial Rights", in *Canadian Historical Review*, XIV (1933), 17-8.

1872, the provincial governments were still occupying the subordinate position in relation to the central government which Macdonald had envisaged. So successfully did he assert his province's rights and privileges during his twenty-four years as premier that he was later credited by Sir Wilfrid Laurier with giving the Canadian constitution "its ultimate character as a federal compact".[4] In only one of the six provincial general elections campaigns which he directed, however, did Mowat attempt to make provincial rights the leading issue. This was the election of 1883.

Just before polling day, the Toronto *Globe* summed up the Liberal version of the campaign issues in the slogans: "Vote against the dismemberment of Ontario and the disruption of the Confederation", "Mowat and Home Rule!" "Meredith and Provincial Suicide!".[5] Two issues were combined in these appeals—the Dominion government's exercise of its right to disallow provincial legislation[6]—as then currently exemplified by the Macdonald administration's treatment of the province's Rivers and Streams Bills—and the same government's failure to implement the award of 1878 with respect to the western boundary of Ontario. Despite the efforts of Liberal journals and orators to stress the issue of provincial rights underlying the Rivers and Streams controversy the obvious association with political patronage[7] lessened its effectiveness as a campaign issue. The question of the location of the province's western boundary was not free of such fundamental political considerations but, as these were less apparent, they could be passed over more readily.[8] As the

4. On the occasion of Mowat's death, Can. Parl., H. of C. *Debates*, 1903, 1577. *Cf.* Premier George Ross's tribute in the Ontario Legislature: "It is to Sir Oliver Mowat's foresight, and his keen appreciation of the status of the province in the federal compact, that we owe to a large extent, the entire independence of this province from entangling constitutional alliances with the Dominion Government". Quoted in C. R. W. Biggar, *Sir Oliver Mowat: A Biographical Sketch* (Toronto, 1905), II, 829.

5. February 26, 1883, 4.

6. B.N.A. Act, s. 90.

7. The legislation permitted upstream loggers, upon the payment of tolls (to be fixed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council) to use "Improvements" in the stream made and maintained by other operators. The legislation was introduced after a Conservative operator had secured a court injunction prohibiting his Liberal upstream competitors from using a dam and slide he had built on a tributary of the Ottawa River. Macdonald, in his capacity as Attorney General for Canada, recommended disallowance. Similar legislation was passed on three more occasions by Mowat's majority in the Ontarian legislature, and twice disallowed by Macdonald. Canada, Dept. of Justice, W. E. Hodgins, comp., *Correspondence, Reports of Ministers, and Orders in Council upon the Subject of Dominion and Provincial Legislation, 1867-1895* (Ottawa, 1896), 177-8.

8. For the purposes of this paper the existence of the issue as the focal point of a dispute between the Ontarian and Dominion governments is of more significance than the legal merits of their respective cases. Biggar presents a detailed but blatantly biased account of the issue in *op. cit.*, I, 369-422. The relevant documents were collected in *Statutes, documents and papers bearing on the discussion respecting the northern and western boundaries of the Province of Ontario . . .* (Toronto, 1878). The dispute arose over the definition of the western and northern boundaries of the old province of Upper Canada. In 1878 a board of arbitrators was established consisting of R. A. Harrison, Chief Justice of Ontario (the nominee of the province), Sir Francis Hincks (the nominee of the Dominion government), and the British minister to Washington, Sir Edward Thornton, as the neutral member. Their award favoured the claims of Ontario. Before it was implemented, however, a change of government occurred in Ottawa. The new administration of Sir John A. Macdonald refused to be bound by the award.

campaign progressed, therefore, Liberal spokesmen gradually focused their attention upon the boundary dispute as the subject which could be most effectively presented to the ordinary voter. As the Conservative opposition were reluctant to do battle on this ground, William R. Meredith and his followers chose, instead, to criticize vigorously the Mowat government's administration of liquor licences, and to raise the sectarian issue in the tract, *Facts for Irish Electors,* in which the premier was accused of harbouring anti-Roman Catholic sentiments.[9] Their diversionary tactics met with some success as these were two issues upon which public interest was easily aroused, but the leading Liberal campaigners continued to direct their attack on what they considered to be the vulnerable position of the provincial Conservatives with respect to the boundary dispute. An Ontarian's prime loyalty in federal-provincial issues, they asserted, lay with his province. So strongly did Mowat and his colleagues press this point that Goldwin Smith, commenting after the election, likened the campaign to a civil war, observing: "Nothing, indeed, short of an unanimous rush of the Province to arms would have sustained the position taken up by the Local Premier on the subject of the Boundary Award".[10] Derogatory epithets are the regular ammunition of the battles on the hustings and in the editorial columns, but it would seem that the Liberals intended their imputation of treasonable intent on the part of their opponents to be taken seriously.

Meredith and his fellow provincial Conservatives had reversed, or at least greatly modified, their stand on both the disallowance and the boundary award issue to toe Macdonald's federal party line in 1882. This action the *Globe* described as "bad, base, unreasonable and unpatriotic".[11] The same journal published in parallel columns resolutions on the boundary award which Meredith and his colleagues had endorsed in 1880 and in 1882, captioning the damning document, "The Record of Treachery".[12] In 1880 the provincial Conservatives had joined Mowat's followers in pledging "cordial support to the assertions by the Government of Ontario of . . . all necessary or proper measures to vindicate such just claims and rights and to sustain the award of the arbitrators by which northerly and westerly boundaries of the Province have been determined".[13] On March 9, 1882,[14] the Conservative leader proposed an amendment to the government-sponsored resolution censuring the actions of the federal authorities with respect to the territory in dispute. Meredith's amendment regretted the failure of the Parliament of Canada to

9. In subsequent elections the same opposition charged Mowat with being pro-Roman Catholic.
10. *The Bystander,* III (April, 1883), 81.
11. February 10, 1883, 8.
12. February 8, 1883, 4.
13. The original resolution is to be found in Ont., Leg. Assembly, *Journals,* 1880, 159; the vote, *ibid.,* 160.
14. Not after the Conservative Convention of September, 1882, as the *Globe* claimed in its subheading.

assent to arbitrators' award but added: "It cannot fail to recognize the right of that body, in the exercise of its powers, to adopt that course which, in the judgment of its members, *sound policy and the rights of the people of the whole Dominion dictate.*"[15] This was the thesis Meredith attempted to maintain on the hustings.[16] The Grit reaction was most memorably expressed in the popular campaign song:

"The traitor's hand is on thy throat,
Ontario! Ontario!
Strike down that traitor with thy vote,
Ontario! Ontario!"[17]

The concept of Ontario as its inhabitants' *patria* was further strengthened by the manner in which Mowat's supporters evoked the currently fashionable expansionist sentiment. Britain and other advanced European nations were adding to those areas of the world which were depicted on maps in the same colour as the homeland. In such an atmosphere maps made heady reading which showed the doubled area of Ontario with appended comment suggesting that, were it not for the obstruction of malevolent forces in Ottawa and in other provinces, Ontario would be fulfilling its manifest destiny.[18] The economic arguments of the new school of imperialists were adapted to the situation:

> Where is the future growth of Toronto to come from [the *Globe* asked its readers] if one-half of the country tributary to the city is to be chopped away? To those who say that the country would still be served from Toronto though Sir John Macdonald wants to give it to Manitoba, it is enough to reply that they are mistaken . . . as time goes on and the Prairie Province develops her merchants will become more and more importers for themselves. Commerce always follows the flag. If the disputed territory belong to Ontario, Toronto will be its political capital. Its members will come here, and the trade of the country will inevitably follow them.[19]

It is noteworthy that four years after the initiation of the National Policy the Liberal journal in what was already an industrial centre assumed that goods would be imported rather than manufactured. The commerce of Toronto was not to follow the non-existent flag of Ontario, but was destined to spread further afield under the stimulus of such national, made-in-Ottawa, factors as the protective tariff, branch banking, and the national transportation system. In an earlier editorial[20] which also quoted the aphorism, "commerce follows the flag", the point was raised that the extension of Ontario's boundaries to Hudson Bay would

15. Original in Ont., *Journals*, 1882, 157; vote, *ibid.*, 159. Present author's emphasis.
16. E.g., his speech at Kingston reported in the *Kingston Daily News*, February 15, 1883.
17. A. H. U. Colquhoun, "The Story of Eight General Elections", in *The Canadian Magazine*, XVI (November 1900), 23.
18. E.g., the map captioned "Ontario and the Disputed Territory" and the accompanying story, "Ontario Robbed", *Globe*, February 17, 1883, 6.
19. Editorial, "Toronto's Interest", February 27, 1883, 4.
20. "The Value of the Land", February 16, 1883, 4.

facilitate the construction of a railway to a seaport on its littoral: "The possession of such a seaport would enable Toronto merchants to exact their own terms from steamships trading by New York and Montreal". This editorial also suggested that the population of the disputed territory would reach a million and asserted that Ontario's interests would suffer if the federal subsidy and House of Commons representation of these people be credited to Manitoba (which then had five members) rather than to Ontario (which then had ninety-two).

The allegation that the Dominion government's stand on the boundary issue was dictated from Quebec[21] was another appeal to a regional prejudice to which Ontarians are normally responsive. The appearance of Thomas White of Montreal on Conservative platforms was cited as evidence of the plot.[22] "Were the people of this Province to sustain Mr. Meredith it would mean that the control of Ontarian affairs would go back to the hands of Quebec as before Confederation", thundered Toronto's would-be Liberal counterpart of the "Thunderer".[23] Writing after Mowat's death his biographer accepted this explanation in attempting to answer the question, "Why did Sir John Macdonald—himself an Ontario man—thus flout his own province . . . ?"[24] Even in 1905, apparently, C. R. W. Biggar could not conceive of a national interest which could legitimately override the claims of provincial loyalty.

When the question of the western and northern boundary of the province first arose the Ontarian and the Dominion governments were the only parties to the dispute. Manitoba became involved in the affair in 1881 when the Dominion parliament enlarged the boundaries of that province to the north and east, in the latter direction to meet the "westerly boundary of Ontario",[25] the boundary under dispute. If the extreme claim of the Dominion government were upheld the boundary of Manitoba would extend to Lake Superior, embracing the present Lakehead ports. When the Manitoban government attempted to assert its authority in the disputed territory jurisdictional conflicts arose which included such incidents as the arrest of the chief of the Manitoban police at Rat Portage by the Ontarian police also stationed there.[26] Fortunately neither the public nor the government in Manitoba developed an interest in the disputed area akin to that displayed by their Ontarian counterparts. As the author of the most recent history of the province indicates, the Manitobans of that day were preoccupied with wheat land, and this territory was unsuitable for agriculture.[27] Whatever future profits might accrue to Manitoba from the possession of the region in question, its

21. *Globe,* February 17, 1883, 6.
22. Editorial, "Outsiders in the Campaign", *ibid.,* February 23, 1883, 4.
23. Editorial, "Mr. Meredith's Betrayal of Provincial Rights", *ibid.,* February 12, 1883, 4.
24. C. R. W. Biggar, *op. cit.,* 384. His explanation, 384-8.
25. An Act to provide for the expansion of the boundaries of the Province of Manitoba, 1881 (44 Vict. c. 14).
26. Alexander Begg, *A History of the North-West* . . . . (Toronto, 1895), III, 79-84.
27. W. L. Morton, *Manitoba, A History* (Toronto, 1957), 219.

immediate result, in the eyes of the impoverished provincial government, was an increase in administrative charges with no corresponding increases in revenue—especially since, under the natural resources policy adopted by the Dominion government upon the creation of Manitoba, the federal authorities retained control of the mineral and timber rights. Following the successful conclusion of the election campaign of 1883,[28] Mowat had little difficulty in securing the agreement of the Manitoban government to refer the question of the boundary as a special case to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.[29]

Mowat himself appeared as counsel for Ontario before the Judicial Committee in July 1884. The Ontarian claims were upheld,[30] the boundary thus defined being later established by imperial statute.[31] The *Globe* hailed the first intimation of victory with an editorial paean more appropriate to the military defeat of a foreign invader than to a decision in a legal dispute between governments within a federation:[32]

> Ontario wins! The once Disputed Territory is ours! From Glengarry to the Lake of the Woods and from Hudson Bay to the Pelee Islands—these are the magnificent distances between the utmost bounds of the Province we may now call our own! It is a splendid victory! All the force against all the right! Against open enemies and secret traitors, Ontario has fought her long and gallant fight, and she has conquered. Against the enemies in her own household; against those who, in their blind malignity, even up to the last moment, chuckled and crowed over what they thought was a set back for the Province they ought to have been the first to defend; against a lifelong enemy the remains of whose reputation is shattered by this crushing verdict, this unanswerable exposure to the baselessness of the pretensions upon which he has founded his six years of rancorous hostility to Ontario—these are the foes whose banners are now trailing in the dust.[33]

Mowat sailed from Britain to New York. Convenience and comfort rather than political considerations possibly dictated his choice of route. His return home was punctuated with public demonstrations at Niagara Falls, where he entered the country on September 14th; at Toronto; and at Woodstock, the principal town in his constituency of North Oxford. These were unprecedented in their enthusiasm, if not entirely spontaneous in their organization.[34] Rarely have Ontarians indulged in such blatant

28. The return of fifty ministerialists and thirty-eight opponents meant that Mowat's majority in the new house was about half of what it had been in the preceding legislature.

29. "Memorandum of Agreement between the Governments of the Provinces of Ontario and Manitoba in regard to the Territory in dispute between them", Ontario, Legislative Assembly, *Sessional Papers*, 1884, no. 3.

30. The correspondence and other papers relating to the case and the decision are collected in Ontario, *Sessional Papers*, 1885, no. 8.

31. The Canada (Ontario) Boundary Act, 1889 (52-53 Vict. c. 28).

32. The *Globe* would not agree with this distinction. In preparing for the conquering hero's return it commented editorially: "The victory we celebrate is grander than victories which have cost thousands of human lives .... Ontario as now definitely bounded possesses within herself all the necessities and potentialities of a great nation". ("The Mowat Demonstration", September 1, 1884, 4).

33. "Judgment when Delivered Will Be In Favour of Ontario", July 23, 1883, 4.

34. For weeks before the premier's arrival the *Globe* carried detailed descriptions of the reception arrangements.

manifestations of provincial patriotism. The *Globe* looked southward in its search for inspiration for a suitable marching song for the occasion:

> Mowat comes marching home again,
> Hurrah, hurrah,
> Ontario's got her own again,
> Hurrah, hurrah,
> The arbitration is confirmed;
> Our hero safely has returned,
> We all feel gay
> Now Mowat comes marching home.[35]

The *Globe* estimated that some twelve thousand marched in Mowat's triumphal procession in Toronto on September 16th, though the aging conquering hero himself rode in an open carriage.[36] Possibly one hundred thousand people, in a city whose numbers were swollen by visitors to the sixth annual exhibition as well as those who came in especially for this occasion, witnessed some part of the demonstration. For the reception at Woodstock later in the week a triumphal arch was erected upon which Mowat's earlier victories over the federal government were blazoned like battle honours: "Escheats, Insurance, Licences, Rivers and Streams".[37]

The returning hero had struck the keynote of the entire demonstration when he told the large welcoming assembly at Niagara Falls, to the accompaniment of prolonged cheers at appropriate intervals: "I rejoice to know that the one great cause, the principal cause of your enthusiasm is that you love Ontario as I love it. The display you have made this night shows that you are for Ontario, and that you are for those who maintain Ontario's cause".[38]

After a three-day orgy of triumph in the glorious victory the *Globe* reassured "Our Sister Provinces" that Ontario's victory must be considered one of all the provinces over the "enemy of Confederation at Ottawa".[39] If one accepts the development of a sense of national self-consciousness as desirable it was a dearly bought victory. Undoubtedly the province had a strong case at law, but it is probable that a larger Manitoba and a smaller Ontario would have made for a more balanced federation in the years which followed. Certainly the recent organization in the Lakehead area of a Union-with-Manitoba League[40] is a reminder that this region is more closely identified economically and socially with the prairie west than with southern Ontario. Although the Manitobans of 1884 apparently were not overly concerned with the boundary dispute, the incident rankled in later years. Thus, while introducing a series of resolutions calling for the northern extension of the province's boundaries

35. September 13, 1884, 3.
36. September 18, 1884, 4. The elaborate calculations were made to rebut the Tory *Mail*'s claim that only 3,067 persons marched, and that most of these had been hired for the occasion.
37. Biggar, *op. cit.*, I, 449.
38. *Globe*, September 16, 1884, 3.
39. Editorial, "Our Sister Provinces", September 18, 1884, 4.
40. *Financial Post*, February 7, 1959, 27.

into the Manitoba legislature in 1905, Attorney General C. H. Campbell made a bitter reference to the award of 1884 depriving Manitoba of its "own port facilities" at the Lakehead, and closed with the observation, "Unfortunately for the Province of Manitoba, neither in its creation nor in its subsequent dealings with the Dominion Government has it received the just treatment it deserved".[41]

Mowat's success in his appeal to the foot of the Throne for justice denied the province at Ottawa possibly encouraged Westerners and Maritimers to undertake similar pilgrimages. They were rarely so successful, but the tendency to look to London as an umpire long persisted. Provincial and imperial loyalties have tended to reinforce each other at the expense of national loyalty.

The more obvious aspect of the incident considered in this paper is the manner in which adherents of one political party, in an effort to further their natural desire to remain in office, deliberately stimulated the separatist tendencies of the electorate. A less apparent, but equally significant point is that party loyalty and discipline induced the provincial opposition to espouse an unpopular cause, attempting to justify the actions of the federal administration at a time when short-term expediency would suggest that repudiating the policy of the national party would have been desirable. Meredith's "bad, base, unreasonable, and unpatriotic" stand—whatever his motivation—on the boundary issue after 1882 can now be seen as the public espousal of the view that national interests should supersede provincial. Many features of Meredith's campaign (notably the introduction of fresh salt into the raw sores of sectarian animosities) were divisive in nature. In the matter here under review, however, he took a stand which was unpromising by the standards of a politician but which in the long term assisted in the replacement of provincial loyalties with something broader. While being pilloried by the supporters of Mowat as "Mr. Right-About Meredith", a puppet manipulated by Macdonald,[42] he was making his contribution toward the development of a Canadian nationality.

41. *Canadian Annual Review,* 1905, 357.
42. *Globe,* February 16, 1882, 4.

SILVER ISLET—A CORRECTION

Mrs. Beryl H. Scott of Fort William, author of "The Story of Silver Islet" (Vol. 49, No. 3), has written to amend a statement in her article placing the arrival of the first summertime vacationers to reside at the settlement on the mainland misnamed "The Island" in the year 1896 (page 135). Further examination of the files of the Port Arthur *Sentinel,* she reports, shows that "in 1892 there was definitely a summer colony at the Island."

IMAGINATION IN HISTORY

By Kildare Dobbs

Though what I want to talk about is imagination in history, or rather the part which imagination plays in the historian's work, I don't want to be understood as in any way denying the importance of rigorous and accurate research, or of scientific method in the collection of evidence and scientific detachment in weighing it. If imagination is to come into play, there must be something for it to work on. And indeed every material thing which has survived from the past into the present is the raw stuff of history. Documents, letters, cheque-books, laundry lists; roads and buildings; old junk in attics or museums; photographs and pictures; novels and newspapers and nick-nacks; they all have something to say to us. And not just to those of us who are real historians like you, but to those others, like me, who are not real historians but who feel nevertheless the mystery and the wonder of time—who feel also the terror of its dark backward and abysm, a terror which is diminished only in so far as we can look back into that abyss in the saving light of imagination.

Anything which remains to us from the past speaks to us, and with a friendly voice. You will remember that John Keats calls his Grecian urn 'a friend to man':

> "Thou still unravish'd bride of quietness,
> Thou foster-child of silence and slow time,
> Sylvan historian, who canst thus express
> A flowery tale more sweetly than our rhyme."

But though such voices from the past are friendly, they are faint, as the voice of Tiresias, standing among the dead, was faint to Odysseus, who wanted him to prophesy. Not till the shade of Tiresias had drunk the living blood of a sacrifice could he get up the strength to speak out and be heard. This story of Homer's has always seemed to me full of meaning. If we want to hear the voices from the past we must nourish them with, so to speak, our own blood. Whatever life they have comes from us. The past in itself is dead. It's nothing, it's gone, it's not there to talk about. Only in a living mind can it come to life.

Only last Sunday I was made vividly aware of this, when I heard morning service in St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin. Before the choir appeared my brother and I walked round this magnificent old church and looked at the monuments we knew so well. The tomb of the Boyle family with its famous notice of Robert Boyle "the founder of pneumatic philosophy and the brother of the Earl of Cork." The Guinness window with its pious text "I was thirsty and he gave me to drink." That terrible voice from beyond the grave of Dean Swift, the Latin words of whose monument are invariably quoted by scholars: "Here is deposited the body of Jonathan Swift, Dean of this Cathedral, where savage indignation can no longer lacerate the heart. Stay traveller and imitate, if you can, his strenuous defence of

human liberty." That *ABI VIATOR*—Stay Traveller—on a line to itself —it seems to speak directly to you. Not far away, in the floor of the nave, with its unfortunate encaustic tiles dating from improvements, in the 1840's I believe, are two small diamond-shaped brasses side by side. On one simply the word SWIFT; on the other STELLA. Here is a mystery the historian in all likelihood will never penetrate. Was Swift married to Stella or not? Were they both, as Dennis Johnston ingeniously suggested (and without any improbability) the natural children of Sir William Temple? Perhaps we shall never know, but we are moved nevertheless, as we are by that lock of Stella's hair which was found among the Dean's papers in a packet marked in his hand 'Only a woman's hair'.

And up there, over the choir stalls, hang the richly emblazoned banners of the defunct Knights of St. Patrick. Where are they now? Gone down with all the great landlords before what Joyce Cary called 'the slanders of history'. This church is the temple of the Anglo-Irish, now abused on every side, still proud of a greatness that may be all in the past.

Now it appears from this that even in the very first movement of the historian's mind—the business of looking at facts—imagination is already at work. To some extent the historian makes the facts, just as the newspaperman makes the news. This may seem a very questionable assertion, so I'll give you an instance of what I mean. At a movie theatre in a Canadian city there was a hold-up at the box-office and two masked men got away with some money. The first reporter to arrive duly noted the time of the crime, the emotions of the ticket girl, the amount of money stolen. Since the sum was only about thirty dollars this reporter's story was rightly regarded by his newspaper as very unimportant and it was given about half an inch of space on one of the duller pages. The second reporter to arrive noticed, in addition to the other circumstances, the title of the movie. This reporter's account appeared on the front page of her newspaper. The lead sentence began *"Easy Money* was the name of the movie and easy money it was when . . . " Her story was news—the other was not. The reason why her story was news was that she had the eye to notice an irony which gave the occurrence its only interest. She told no lies, and still you might say that she had made up the news.

In much the same way it's the imagination of the historian which raises evidence of past occurrences to the stature of historical fact. The mere accumulation of bits of evidence about the past does not in itself amount to history.

Perhaps this is a heretical proposition. Again, perhaps it is a truism accepted by everyone. But certainly it goes against what I was taught at school about science. I was taught that in the middle ages Thomas Aquinas and the schoolmen brought deductive reasoning to a fine edge, but that they argued from revelation and from authority and from first principles rather than from evidence, and that consequently their science was so much twaddle. Then along came something called the Renaissance and

something else called the Reformation and the silly monks were put in their places. Bacon appeared on the scene with the true scientific method of inductive reasoning. Induction as I understood it—and I'm only too ready to admit that I probably got it wrong—consisted in patiently accumulating all the facts whereupon the general principle underlying them would break upon your mind. You then formed an hypothesis and devised experiments to test it. According to this view the rise of science was directly attributable to the use of the inductive method.

But from everything I have heard since I was at school it doesn't appear that scientists work in anything like this way. They have hunches like the rest of us—apparently for no reason at all, deductive or inductive. Sir Alexander Fleming discovered penicillin when he was supposed to be doing something else. I suspect that most of the important discoveries in the sciences have been made like this, by respectable men playing hooky from their respectable jobs. The only way they can get the money out of governments or industrialists for a great big laboratory and lots of stooges to do the donkey work of experimentation is to pretend that Bacon was right and that there is an absolute virtue in collecting evidence.

It isn't just the scientists who realize this. The whole Ph.D. industry in North America is based on this assumption that the job of the academy is to accumulate facts, facts and more facts. And I suppose, to some extent, that *is* the job of the academy, or at all events, it is one of the jobs. But we must ask ourselves if this is all the academy exists for—to be an ever more complex, ever more comprehensive filing system.

Until the past has come to life in a living mind it cannot be history. It is no more than an accumulation of bits of evidence. All it can do is gather dust in silence. The act by which it comes to life is the act of inspired guessing which is also imagination or if you like intuition. It is the same faculty which enables us to understand our contemporaries, to infer from the expression on their faces whether they are pleased or angry or bored or interested, to derive from their behaviour and from what they say a notion of what is passing in their minds and an impression of their characters. We use no method in doing this and we no more think about how we do it, though we do it constantly, than we think about breathing or digesting our food. And the more imaginative we are by habit or nature—the more we are a person on whom (in Henry James's phrase) nothing is lost —the more true, fairminded and objective will be our inferences about the people around us. It is imagination that enables us to see into minds very different from our own, and lack of imagination which makes us self-righteous, hypocritical or bigoted. It is the narrow and pedestrian mind which sees human persons only as potential friends or enemies, good guys or bad guys, the elect or the damned. And if we apply this to history we see that the historian with a very strong bias is not a man who suffers from too much imagination but a man who suffers from too little.

Of course a degree of bias is unavoidable. The best English historians, I suppose, have been those of a whiggish bent—Gibbon, Macaulay, Lecky, Trevelyan. Gibbon's imagination seemed to fail him when he wrote about religious people, and he has been scolded for it even by Trevelyan. Yet I think it is not difficult to understand Gibbon's bias. He had himself been for a while a convert to Roman Catholicism and had abandoned it; and after all, there are no opinions we despise so much as those we ourselves have once held and then rejected. The solemn sneer of Gibbon is directed at a folly which he felt he knew only too well. And as a matter of fact Gibbon is a good deal fairer to early Christians like Athanasius of Alexandria, Eusebius, Gregory and Basil than he is given credit for. His tone is never that of personal superiority, like Strachey's; but of ironic judicial insight.

Because of the success of the whig historians, with their reputation for bias—and by success I mean success in finding sympathetic readers—the idea has got about that only history written with a conscious bias can be interesting. And by a curious perversion of reason another more fatal idea has got about that if history is to be respectable and detached it must be dull and dry. The consequence is that some historians seem to feel they must either write designedly popular books in bold black and white, with recognizable heroes and villains; or else they must write books for their academic colleagues which are little better than arrangements of evidence; books in which they have said nothing wrong, for the very good reason that they have said nothing.

But let us leave such depressing thoughts for the moment. I say that evidence of the past is brought to life only by imagination—and that until it has been so brought to life it cannot become history. There is, however, something else it can become. I think this is put well by M. I. Finley, an American scholar who is a fellow of my own college, Jesus College, Cambridge. In the introduction to his book *The Greek Historians* he says:

> All men have memories and "live in the past" to a greater or less extent. Is it not natural that they should be interested in their ancestors and the past of their community, people, nation? Yes, but such an interest is not necessarily the same thing as history. It can be satisfied entirely by myth, and, in fact, that is how most of mankind has customarily dealt with the past (and, in a very real sense, still does). Myth serves admirably to provide the necessary continuity of life, not only with the past but with nature and the gods as well. It is rich and vivid, it is concrete and yet full of symbolic meanings and associations, it explains institutions and rites and feelings, it is instructive—above all it is real and true and immediately comprehensible.

Some of the myths by which we live have a firm historical ground. For example there is the myth of progress—we can see with our own eyes that material progress has taken place. Occasionally a twinge of doubt will assail us—as it does me when I see in an old pub in Dublin a notice saying *Whiskey 3d a glass*. This notice was put up sixty years ago. The same 3d today wouldn't buy so much as a squirt of soda water. But then, when you are in Ireland you very often find yourself doubting the

myth of progress. The characteristic architecture of the country, as Stephen Gwynn has observed, is ruins; and the population trend is extinction in a hundred years. How can you be blandly optimistic in a social setting like that?

Then (to return to this continent) there is the myth of the frontier, There actually was a frontier in North America, and it was in fact pushed forward by resourceful and self-reliant men and women. So powerful is this myth that most true-born Canadians are firmly convinced that they resemble their ancestors in being frontiersmen, lovers of the great open spaces, and of the sequestered silences of the woods and the lakes. Yet they are content to live in some of the most hideous cities in the world for most of the year. For two weeks in the summer they carry these cities with them to the shores of some lake, which they thereupon render uninhabitable with the roar of outboard motors, the howling of methodist hymns, the bellowing of radio advertisers, and all the other noises so indispensable to the happiness of true-born Canadians.

I believe that the making of myths by which we can live is one of the supreme functions of imagination. But it is not this aspect of it which touches the historian. We must ask ourselves what is the difference between myth and history? Both are means of entering into a relation with the past by grace of imagination. Jung says 'a myth is a dream of the race' and a dream, we know, is among other things a phantasy of wish-fulfillment. We are all, for one reason or another, haunted by a sense of guilt, by an uncomfortable awareness of imperfection. We wish, we deeply wish we were innocent. And so as a race we dream, so to speak, of a time when we were indeed innocent. We fashion for ourselves the myth of the Garden of Eden, of the Golden Age, and to account for our present clouded nature we add to it the myth of the Fall. Because we have been perfect once we shall be able to achieve perfection again in the future—either in the next world, or in the millenium in this. We look long and searchingly at all relics of the past, to judge how far we have come in our journey to perfection. This myth doesn't underlie merely the Christian view of the past, but also the democratic view and its near-relation, the Marxist view. But the historian must try to avoid the tidal pull of wish and desire. He must try to imagine the past, not as he would like it to have been; not as a shining example to put the present to shame, or as a black nightmare by comparison with which the present must seem all morning light and birdsong; but as it was, as in all probability it actually happened. The historian has therefore a much more lively interest in evidence than the myth-maker. He can never disregard it, and must bring imagination to bear on every scrap of it.

For this reason some historians are better than others. If there were nothing to his job but the tasks of a mole burrowing through archives and records it would be a job which could be done better by a machine, by an electronic brain or an automatic computer. All history books would be the same, given the same sources and the same purpose. But as we well

know, a dull man writes a dull history book, an intelligent man writes an intelligent one, an interesting man writes an interesting book. It is in the quality of their imagination that historians differ one from another.

The good historian can imagine his way into the mind of a person—an historical person—which is quite different from his own. Take a man like Colonel Talbot of southwestern Ontario. The historian without much imagination would see him simply as a tyrant, as a land-grabber and as a boozer. In fact what he was was an eighteenth century gentleman. Gentlemen drank a good deal of claret, and so did the Colonel. Gentlemen were accustomed to giving orders and to being obeyed, and so was the Colonel. Gentlemen loved the land, and loved the whole business of administering it, the dealing with people, the contact with nature, the power and the pride of possession. Why one should censure one man because he desired to administer a great estate of tens of thousands of acres as Talbot did, and fall down and worship another like Henry Ford because he wanted millions of dollars and power over machines I don't know. Of the two sorts of seeking for power I think Talbot's is the more attractive because the more human, because it put him into a relation with men and with nature, where Ford's was merely an overlordship of dollars and factories, both inhuman and anti-natural. And of course the final and most obtuse failure of imagination would be to condemn a man like Talbot for being undemocratic when he simply did not believe in democracy, when in fact most sensible people of his time did not believe in democracy. Let us not forget that nearly all the evils which Dr. Johnson judged would follow democracy have materialized.

I hope it has emerged by this time that in pleading the part of imagination in history I am not asking historians to tell lies. Quite the contrary. I am simply saying that given the evidence, what you make of it depends to a very great degree on what you are. I would like to return to a notion of Henry James's which I recalled earlier—the necessity for a novelist to be a person on whom nothing is lost. It is quite as necessary for the historian. Everything in his own daily experience should yield its meaning, should be turned about in the light of imagination. Only in this way will he become fit to understand the past, people of another age and of different experience.

I do not believe the art of history has advanced much since the eighteenth century. The style in which books of history are written is a modified eighteenth century one. That is to say it is a style derived from the law-courts, from the judge's summing up to the jury. Is it not time that the art of history took another step forward by evolving a new literary style? It isn't easy to demonstrate precisely what I mean here, but if you read Trevelyan, Churchill and people like that, you cannot but be struck by the fact that they use words like 'haply' and 'albeit' and the structure of their prose is as much like Gibbon's as they can manage. This is a style and a prose evolved to give judgment its due play, since judgment

is still considered so important a part of history. But what is needed is a style which will result in a much more complex and ambiguous kind of history than we have had in the past. The historian will have to turn to the novelist to learn this style, to learn how to present experience in its complexity, not simplified to judgments and conclusions, to verdicts of guilty or not guilty, and whether King John was a good man or a bad one, a virtuous monarch or a wicked one. Let us by all means instal electronic computers in the universities to do the donkey-work at present performed by the school of Dryasdust, but for the art of history which we all love, let us invoke once more the Blessed Muse Clio.

THE L.D.S. MICROFILMING PROJECT—A PROGRESS REPORT

Since the Genealogical Society of Salt Lake City commenced microfilming land and municipal records in Ontario they have completed over 3,800 reels of film, representing the equivalent of some 4,600,000 pages of material. The first cameramen were sent from Salt Lake City but they have long since been replaced by Canadian photographers.

Starting in Western Ontario, the cameramen have progressed as far as Kingston with the land records and expect to reach the Quebec border before the end of winter, leaving only scattered northern county records to complete next summer. The parties at work on municipal records and those of the Presbyterian Church have reached as far east as the counties of Grey, Wellington, Wentworth and the Niagara District. Their progress is slower because land records are located in a central office for each county whereas it may be necessary to visit twenty-five and more municipal offices in a single county.

A copy of all film now completed is deposited in the Ontario Archives and may be used for research purposes there. These records are extremely valuable for genealogical research but as the use of land records in this connection is a little involved, Mr. Leslie R. Gray has prepared a brief letter of instructions to assist persons intending to use these records. The letter has been filmed along with the Middlesex County records.

This programme, sponsored by the Ontario Historical Society, is adding tremendously to the materials available to the general public for historical research, and the work is being done at practically no cost to the Society or the Province of Ontario. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Genealogical Society for their most valuable work.

—Leslie R. Gray.

THE SOCIETY'S ANNUAL MEETING

June 18, 19 and 20, 1959

The sixty-first Annual Meeting of the Ontario Historical Society was held in Peterborough under the sponsorship of the Historical Society of the City and County of Peterborough. The Empress Hotel, though undergoing complete reconstruction after a serious fire last year, furnished space for the registration desks and its Oak Room for the sessions and the annual dinner.

The meeting was opened on Thursday afternoon by Mr. John M. Gray, president of the Ontario Historical Society, who welcomed the delegates and reminded them that for the first time since 1902 the Society was meeting in Peterborough. He reported two changes in the programme made necessary by the unavoidable absences of Professor J. M. S. Careless and Mr. E. C. Guillet. The former, however, had forwarded his paper and arranged to have it read to the Society, while Dr. M. Zaslow had agreed to take Mr. Guillet's place on the panel discussion. In welcoming the members to the City of Peterborough Mayor Donald L. Loucks expressed his hope that their stay would be a rewarding one, full of pleasant memories. Dr. Ralph Honey, president of the Peterborough Society, conveyed its greetings and its pride at being host to the provincial organization. He hoped the cause of local history in Peterborough and district would be strengthened by the experience of meeting fellow-historians from other sections of Ontario. He paid tribute to Mr. John Londerville and Miss Anne Heideman, his predecessors as president, for their work in resuscitating the local society some years ago.

In introducing Mr. J. E. R. Munro to read his paper on "Early Peterborough and Nine Years of Settlement" Dr. Honey launched the meeting into the traditional study programme consisting of five papers, the banquet address, an illustrated talk and a panel discussion, extending over the three days' sessions. Mr. Munro, a retired Peterborough school principal, gave an admirable introduction to the history of the district by recounting the natural features that attracted settlers — favourable climate, fertile soil, wildlife aplenty, not-unfriendly Indians. When the area was surveyed after 1818 settlers began to take up land for farming and lumbering. In 1825 large numbers of Irish immigrants were established on farms in the district under a state-aided plan directed by Hon. Peter Robinson. After 1830 the district began to attract individual settlers in great numbers until available lands were occupied and the first stage of Peterborough's pioneer age had passed.

In speaking on "Transatlantic Travel Before 1850" Mr. Lloyd Hale, head of the English Department at Peterborough Collegiate, supplemented the previous paper by describing another important side of pioneer life —the unsanitary, crowded, dangerous passage undertaken by innumerable

immigrants so that they and their descendants might find a more abundant life. By emigrating they escaped the privations that were the lot of Irish and Scottish tenant farmers, ground between the pressures of population and greedy landlords. But first they had to survive the crossing, where overcrowding, cramped quarters below decks, primitive sanitary arrangements, insufficient provisions for lengthy voyages, grossly inadequate lifesaving equipment, all took their toll of life. On the way, too, they were exposed to an infinite variety of frauds that left many newcomers to become public charges in the new land.

The Thursday evening session, held in the Peterborough Public Library, featured an interesting paper by Mr. Robert Porter on "Early Writers of the Peterborough Area", followed by a series of slides illustrating the early buildings and houses of the district, with comments by Miss Anne Heideman. Mr. Porter, librarian of the Peterborough Public Library, reminded his audience how fortunate was the district in numbering among its first settlers a remarkable group of able writers. The works of Frances Stewart, Samuel Strickland, Mrs. Catharine Parr Traill, Susanna Moodie, John and Anne Langton, Thomas Need and George Copway recorded indelibly for posterity the character of pioneer life and of the pioneers, and their own adjustments to this environment.

Professor Careless's paper, "George Brown and the Penitentiary Inquiry of 1848" was read by Mr. Charles Humphries at the Friday morning meeting. A chapter in the author's forthcoming biography of Brown, it recounted the sadistic cruelty and mismanagement of the Warden of Kingston Penitentiary which was exposed by a committee of the Canadian legislature thanks to George Brown's concern. Though the inquiry led to prison reforms that were advanced for their day, Brown's efforts earned the enmity of the member for Kingston, John A. Macdonald, and gave a strong personal tinge to their lifelong political rivalry.

The Friday morning programme also included a panel discussion on "The Writing of History" in which Mr. Leslie Gray, Professor Charles M. Johnston and Dr. Morris Zaslow set forth their views. Mr. Gray, a past president of the Ontario Historical Society, and author with Mrs. Gray of *Wilderness Christians,* stressed the difficulties of the amateur to secure his material, to organize it for publication, and to guide it through the press. In the process he becomes deeply indebted to innumerable persons for their guidance and knowledge. But for the amateur historian his task is a labour of love and its own best reward in terms of the friendships made and the pride of achievement. Professor Johnston, of the Department of History at McMaster University and author of *The Head of the Lake,* told how his own study exemplified the close relationships between local and national history. In Hamilton's story are mirrored the political and industrial changes that swayed Canada, while local men like Sir Allan N. MacNab and viewpoints like protection have swayed the national

scene. Consequently local historical studies have wide implications, and the differentiation between local and national historians is unreal, for both are mutually interdependent. Dr. Zaslow, editor of *Ontario History,* discussed the local history scene from the standpoint of the books and articles currently being produced. Scholars have broadened the scope of their studies, and besides the traditional fields of political and military history and genealogy show an interest in anthropology, religious and cultural life, institutional development, economic and social trends. In general, however, the work of scholarship remains confined to the pre-Confederation era. There is a growing interest by the general public in Ontario's past which is being catered to by popular writers rather than trained historians, so that the gap is widening between researcher and popularizer, to the disadvantage of both. He reviewed the editorial policy of *Ontario History,* emphasizing that it must serve a variegated present-day audience as well as scholars in years to come, and he called on Ontario's historians to show by their achievements the way to their fellows across the nation. A brief period of questions and comments followed.

Guest speaker at the annual dinner on Friday evening was Kildare Dobbs, editor, critic and frequent contributor to Canadian literary journals and C.B.C. programmes. His talk, "Imagination in History", appealed to historians while retaining their devotion to truth to use their faculties of imagination to give pattern, meaning and sympathetic insight into the plain facts and dry bones of past occurrences. He also called for greater literary freedom in historical writing, an experimenting with forms other than the modified eighteenth century styles patterned by Gibbon and Macaulay. His thoughtful and stimulating address appears elsewhere in this issue on pages 199 to 205.

The final paper on the programme, read at the Saturday morning session, was that of John Muggeridge, "John Rolph, The Reluctant Rebel", to be published in a future issue of *Ontario History.* Rolph, a shadowy figure largely forgotten by later generations, played a major part in Upper Canadian politics as a moderate reformer during the twenty years before 1837. Unlike Baldwin, he was persuaded to support the rebellion by offering to serve as a leader of the ensuing government, should it be successful. So little was his loyalty suspected by the authorities that the Lieutenant-Governor sent him with a flag of truce to the rebel camp to treat with them on the government's behalf, and while so engaged Rolph advised the rebels to attack Toronto without delay.

In addition to the papers, the host society arranged a tour of the Peterborough Public Library and the Denne Collection on Thursday afternoon, and two bus tours on the two succeeding afternoons. That of Friday took members to view many of the city's old homes and to St. John's Anglican Church, where, after a welcome by Archdeacon F. G. Ongley, a plaque was unveiled to commemorate the founding of the parish

and church. Leslie Gray made a few remarks on behalf of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario, and Mayor Loucks and Dr. Honey added a few words. Afterwards the buses travelled the Trent waterway road through Douro Township to Lakefield, the home of Catharine Parr Traill, and locale of a delightful garden party offered by the ladies of the local I.O.D.E. Chapter. On the Saturday bus tour members were enabled to view the Peterborough Hydraulic Lift Lock, the David Fife homestead, and the Serpent Mounds overlooking Rice Lake. Field director Richard B. Johnson was on hand to discuss the burials and answer numerous questions from interested onlookers. On the return journey the members stopped at Keene, where a buffet luncheon had been prepared by the ladies of the Presbyterian Church. The tours were memorable for the many points of historic and scenic interest which members were able to view in perfectly sunny weather.

Business was represented by the usual meetings of Council on Thursday afternoon and the public sessions of Friday and Saturday mornings. The Friday meeting was opened with a brief report by President John M. Gray who referred to the changed relationship of the Society with the government of Ontario. Under a recent redefinition of government functions the Society's annual grant is being received from the Department of Travel and Publicity, apparently severing a long connection between the Ontario Historical Society and the Department of Education.

The following members have died during the past year: Miss Gertrude Carnochan, Niagara-on-the-Lake; Mr. Roy F. Fleming, Ottawa; Hon. George S. Henry, Todmorden; Mr. W. B. McPherson, Q.C., Toronto; Mr. J. T. Ruley, Niagara Falls; and Dr. Ward Woolner, Ayr.

Miss Edna Ash then read the Treasurer's and Secretary's Reports for the past year, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER, JUNE 1959

Mr. President and Members of The Ontario Historical Society: I present for your approval the financial statements for the year 1958 as set forth by Mr. Leslie Gray and myself, with some minor changes by our Auditor, Mr. Paul Seddon, as they are printed on pages 136, 137, and 138 of ONTARIO HISTORY, Vol. 51, No. 2.

The following report, which takes into consideration the financial records of the past three years, indicates that the Society has been placed on a much firmer footing. The surplus of $55.84 for the year 1956 was raised to $1,389.80 in 1957 and to $1,623.87 in 1958. This was made possible by the increase of $1,700 in the government grant.

The cost of printing ONTARIO HISTORY varies according to the number of copies required. Not including the Editor's honorarium, the cost is fairly covered by the membership fees.

The income from the sale of back numbers of ONTARIO HISTORY and other rare, old books, including $355.75 in 1956, $643.98 in 1957, and $646.13 in 1958, which customarily is allocated to the General Cruikshank Publication Fund, now totals over $6,500. Shortly this will be reduced to $4,000 as Volumes 9, 10 and 11 of PAPERS & RECORDS (the earlier title of ONTARIO HISTORY) are being reprinted at an estimated cost of $2,500.

The sale of current publications, which includes copies of ONTARIO HISTORY other than those to which a member is entitled, has risen from $26.50 in 1956 to $357.10 in 1957 and to $326.80 in 1958, mainly due to the handling of the Ontario

series of The Champlain Society. As the Auditor has shown in the 1958 statement, the low price set for the series nets very little profit, next to nothing if postage and bank charges are included in the cost. All concerned in the publication or purchase of these valuable, historical works should consider the handling of such volumes as a courteous gesture on the part of the Society.

The cost of printing, stationery, and postage for office use, shows some variation —$272 in 1956, $430 in 1957, and $205 in 1958. The membership drive accounts for the excessive amount in 1957.

The grant to the Museum Section was raised from $50 to $100 in 1958 at the the request of the grantee.

Revenue from the Annual Meeting shows a rather rapid decline from $241.56 in 1956 to $211.50 in 1957 and to $151.65 in 1958. A somewhat stronger liaison between the Executive and the Local Committee might improve this situation, if it is desirable to do so.

An unusual outlay, amounting to $133, was made at Easter time a year ago to encourage membership among the secondary teachers of the province and to inform them about the junior historical societies established in the schools of New York State.

Cash in the bank at the end of the year mounted from $1,282.76 in 1956 to $2,029.91 in 1957 and to $3,581.94 in 1958. This increase has led the Executive to believe that the Society can afford to print an index to cover Volumes I to L of ONTARIO HISTORY.

The Auditor, whose duties had increased somewhat, raised his fee from $20 to $50 in 1958. (It did not occur to anyone, of course, to raise the honoraria of the Editor or the Secretary two and a half times.)

May I take this opportunity to express my personal opinion that this Society needs a standing finance committee and that the convener of such a committee should be nominated and elected at the same time as the other officers of the Executive?

A finance committee could make a study of the society's financial position, prepare an annual budget, give advice as to the investment of bonds, and select an auditor.

Mr. President, I take pleasure in moving the adoption of this report.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY, JUNE, 1959

During the past three years, there has been a considerable change in membership, both as to personnel and as to numbers. At least half of the members have enrolled in this triennial period. In round figures in 1956, there were 500 members; in 1957, 700; and in 1958, 800. For the greater part of these gains, the gratitude of the Society is due to Dr. Spragge and to Dr. Preston, who conducted the membership drive.

The 1958 membership included 111 American and Canadian libraries, 51 historical societies and museums, 18 miscellaneous corporate members, 7 life members, 3 sustaining members, and 611 annual members.

Through death, resignation, or default of payment, in 1957 the Society lost 40 members; in 1958, 82 members, 36 of whom had enrolled during the membership drive. A second due notice was sent to all unpaid members. To lessen such losses this year, three notices have been sent out, the first to all who had not paid in advance, the second to 200 members, and the third to 90 members. As of today, there are 738 paid-up members for 1959. Obviously, with an average loss of 50 to 70 members, there is definite need for a permanent membership committee whose chief activities would be the enrolment of 50 to 100 members annually.

Last year, several new historical groups wrote to your secretary for help in forming a society or for suggested programmes. One group even requested the attendance of a seasoned member of an historical society for six or seven monthly meetings. In response, your secretary supplied a few model constitutions, or advised correspondence with well-established local societies, suggested interviews with the older citizens of their respective localities, listed speakers, and invited corporate membership in the Society.

In this field of endeavour, your secretary could have done much better if reports from the local historical societies had been on file. Apparently, if the Society is going to prove a real force to the locals, an officer, paid or unpaid, should be ap-

pointed or elected at an early date to attend to the organization of local societies.

Several societies have enquired about the advantages of affiliation. Possibly, there are disadvantages. Surely, the Society needs a legal committee to interpret the Act of Incorporation and the Constitution, and to prepare necessary revisions of the latter.

For the purpose of setting up needed standing committees, outlined here or otherwise, I should like to suggest that this meeting consider the appointment of a committee to prepare a revision of the Constitution and that such revision be voted upon at the next annual meeting.

Mr. President, I take pleasure in moving the adoption of this report.

The following members were appointed to the Nominations Committee: Mr. Leslie Gray, London; Dr. J. A. Bannister, Port Dover; Major John Barnett, Clarkson; Mr. W. F. C. Anderson, Ottawa; and Inspector F. Swayze, Toronto. The personnel of the Resolution Committee was as follows: Mr. A. D. McFall, Toronto; Dr. J. F. Morton, Southampton; Mr. G. Copeland, London; Miss A. Heideman, Peterborough; and Miss Mary Farmer, Hamilton.

James P. Lovekin presented the following report on the progress of the Junior Historian Movement:

The meeting may not know that Dr. Hill, the chairman of this committee, was awarded a UNESCO Fellowship taking him to France, Great Britain, Scandinavia, and the Middle East.

Before leaving, he made very careful and complete plans for carrying out the interest of the Ontario Historical Society in a Junior Historian programme. Progress has been entirely satisfactory. A questionnaire is now ready for the printer, firm quotations have been obtained for enclosures, and the Research Department of the Ontario College of Education has set up a poll of two thousand primary and secondary schools in this province. The results of this questionnaire will be tabulated by the Research Department and will enable the Ontario Historical Society to examine the question of a Junior Historian movement in the light of a substantial body of objective information.

May I say that this rapid and material progress is due in large measure to the active and sympathetic interest shown throughout by the officials of the Department of Education and their representative on the committee, Inspector Swayze. In moving the acceptance of this report, may I include therefore, in the motion an expression of appreciation from this Society to the Department?

It was announced that Council had approved the applications for affiliation with the Ontario Historical Society of the following seven local historical organizations:

The Bruce County Historical Society
The Etobicoke Historical Society
The Grey County Historical Society
The Hastings County Historical Society
The Hiram Walker Historical Museum
The Oshawa and District Historical Society
The Scarborough Township Historical Society.

The Saturday morning business session received the report of the Nominating Committee from Mr. Leslie Gray. He announced that Mr. John M. Gray had been compelled by heavy personal responsibilities reluctantly to give up the presidency after a single year, and that Dr. George Spragge was also retiring from the vice-presidency because as an officer

of the Department of Travel and Publicity he could not properly serve the Society in its dealings with that department. Accordingly, the following slate of officers was approved:

President — Professor J. M. S. Careless, Toronto
Past President — Mr. John M. Gray, Toronto
First Vice-President — Professor R. A. Preston, Kingston
Second Vice-President — Mr. A. D. McFall, Toronto
Treasurer — Miss Edna Ash, Toronto
Additional Members — Mr. A. W. Taylor, Galt; Dr. A. S. Hardy, Richmond Hill; Miss Mabel C. Stewart, Guelph; Miss Mary Farmer, Hamilton; Dr R. C. Honey, Peterborough; Mr. W. H. E. Schmalz, Kitchener; Dr. J. F. Morton, Southampton.

Miss Edna Ash, Secretary, and Dr. Morris Zaslow, Editor, are members of the Executive Committee ex officio.

Mr. A. D. Fall presented the following report of the Resolutions Committee:

We wish to thank the members of the Peterborough City and County Historical Society who have with rare efficiency and abundant hospitality presented us with unimpeachable evidence of the vitality of their organization.

We wish to thank also the Catharine Parr Traill Chapter of the I.O.D.E., the ladies of Keene Presbyterian Church and Archdeacon F. G. Ongley of St. John's Anglican Church.

That we recommend to the Executive that they appoint a committee to prepare amendments to the constitution providing for standing committees dealing with such matters as finance, the constitution, and membership.

That we request the Executive to ask the Department of Travel and Publicity to make more office space available for the Society.

That the Executive consider changing the dates of the annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society so that there will be a full day's programme on Saturday.

Dr. J. F. Morton, Chairman of the Museums Section, gave the following report on the section's activities during the past year:

Since the last meeting of the Ontario Historical Society a very successful Workshop was held at Brantford. A report of the Workshop and the financial statement of the Museums Section have already been published so I shall not elaborate on these.

This year the Workshop will be held at Cornwall with Miss Mary Mack as convener. Most of the programme has already been arranged by Miss Mack and her committee, and early reports indicate that this year's Workshop will be an outstanding one. Dr. Charlotte Whitton will be the guest speaker at our annual dinner. Many of the Quebec and New York state museums are expected to attend the Workshop.

As you already know, museums grants will be made by the Department of Travel and Publicity. The Department has already appointed Mr. James Gooding as Museum Adviser for Ontario. Mr. Gooding has had extensive experience at the Royal Ontario Museum and is expected to be of great assistance to the individual museums and to the executive of the Museums Section.

Several of the executive attended the Canadian Museums Association meeting at Toronto in May. For those of you who have been asking after Andrew Taylor, he and Mrs. Metcalfe are attending the Canadian Museums Association Seminar at McGill University which is being held this month.

The newsletter of the Museums Section has enjoyed a better response from the museums than does the Ontario Historical Society from its affiliated societies, for forty museums have reported on their activities in 1958. These reports were pub-

lished in the Newsletters, ten of which have been issued since last June with another to be sent out this month. In addition to reporting the activities of the museums they keep the members informed of courses and other services available to them. The Newsletter has been a means of keeping the small museums up to date concerning events and happenings of importance and interest to museum workers. It has contained announcements of new museums, description of developments which have taken place within established museums, and stories of particular exhibits and displays which have aroused unusual interest.

For those of you who are interested, there is a display of material published by the Museums Section at the back of the room which is yours for the taking, or copies may be secured by writing to Mrs. Dunbar at Embro. One of the papers contains a list of established museums and of new ones which are opening this year.

The Museums Section wishes to extend our thanks to the Ontario Historical Society for their very valuable assistance to our work.

Among the projects under discussion by the executive are a film or slides on the conservation of materials; greater publicity for museums; and the preparation of a constitution for the Museums Section which will be discussed at the Workshop at Cornwall and presented to the next annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society for approval.

Apart from the business meetings all the sessions were well attended and excellent press coverage was forthcoming from the *Peterborough Examiner*. Altogether the sixty-first annual meeting was a great success, and the host society, the Historical Society of the City and County of Peterborough, deserves the fullest praise for its work to assure this result.

LOCAL HISTORY ON WINDSOR RADIO

In keeping with what has now become a regular institution, the Essex County Tourist Association greeted the spring of 1959 with its fifteenth annual series of radio sketches over Radio Station CKLW, Windsor. The broadcasts, thirteen in all, were given at weekly intervals between April 25 and July 25. Included among the subjects offered were talks on "Le Cote du Nord Est" by Steve Spilos; "The Game of Baseball, 1860" by Floyd R. Dain; "Shipping on the Lower Detroit" by David P. Botsford; "History of the St. Lawrence Seaway 1700-1959" by R. Alan Douglas; "The Future of the Seaway" by Dr. E. G. Pleva; "The Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village" by Kenneth N. Metcalf; and "Tour of Essex County", "The Royal Tour of 1860", "Salute to Col. E. S. Wigle and the Wigle Families in Essex County", and "Fiftieth Anniversary of Agricultural Research at Harrow", all by Dr. Neil F. Morrison. Mimeographed copies of the broadcasts were available from the Essex County Tourist Association or Radio Station CKLW, both of Windsor.

THE TERM OF OFFICE OF JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE

When did John Graves Simcoe cease to be lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada? It is well known that for reasons of health he obtained leave to visit England in 1796 and that he did not return to the Province; that Peter Russell was administrator for the three years 1796 to 1799; and that Lieutenant-General Hunter was only appointed lieutenant-governor in 1799. It is obvious from Russell's correspondence that for some time he regarded Simcoe as still being lieutenant-governor and that he was looking forward to his return. It is clear, too, that for some little time Simcoe also considered himself as being still in office and as being merely on leave. But it has been difficult to say precisely when Simcoe's appointment came to an end. The *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* gives the dates of Simcoe's lieutenant-governorship as 1791-1796; the new *Encyclopedia Canadiana* avoids the issue; and in the index to Kennedy's *Documents of the Canadian Constitution* we find "Simcoe . . . lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada (1792-9)."

In reply to a question by the Ontario Archives as to the terminal date of Simcoe's lieutenant-governorship Mr. S. R. Mealing, of the Department of History, Carleton University, and who last year read a paper on Simcoe at the meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, wrote the following letter. The evidence he adduces seems conclusive. Simcoe's term of office came to an end in January 1798, or very shortly thereafter.

"I have not forgotten your letter of 8 December. The exact date of Simcoe's resignation does not seem to be in the notes I have taken, but it is possible to come pretty close.

One must distinguish his military from his civil commission. The effective date of his transfer from the North American to the West Indies staff (that is, military staff) was 29 November 1796. That was very quick, considering that he had only returned from Upper Canada on 13 October and that he only agreed in November to go to Saint Domingo. The authority for this is a letter from William Wyndham to Simcoe on 26 June 1798, which you can find in your collection of Simcoe's papers, the Non-Canadian, Envelope 12. It is easy to be misled on this, by the way, from the date of his patent as Commander-in-Chief in Saint Domingo, which is 21 November 1797; that of course is the date on which the patent was actually issued to his agent and in itself tells one nothing. I don't think the patent is with his papers, but the record of its issuing is in the Public Record Office, in the Treasury Papers series T28/2/416.

When did he resign his civil commission as lieutenant-governor? Sometime in January 1798, I should think. A friend writing him on 2 February mentioned just having heard of his resignation (J. P. Bastard to Simcoe, in the Simcoe Papers, Non-Canadian, Envelope 7). And in

the next month the Treasury began winding up his Upper Canada accounts. The first letter to him about his fees in the province that I know of is one from John King, permanent under-secretary at the Home Office, dated 19 March 1798 (it is referred to in another, printed by Cruikshank and Hunter, *Russell Papers . . .*, II, p. 314). His whole Upper Canada account had been reviewed by 31 March, when the Treasury sent him a bill. (His reply to this, a letter to Bernard Colbe in July 1806, is in the Seminary of Quebec Archives, Fonds Verreau, Papiers Simcoe, Carton 12, no. 31). This was the normal procedure when a man resigned. At the same time, too, he transferred from colonel of the Queen's Rangers to colonel of the Eighty-first Regiment (18 January 1798) and got the first of his appointments in Great Britain—deputy lieutenant of the county of Devon—on 26 February. I am, therefore, prepared to bet on January 1798, although February or early March are possibilities. There is a letter dated 26 March (Simcoe to John King, *Russell Papers,* II, pp. 127-28) that speaks of his return to North America; but it is certainly a reference to his hopes of being made Governor-General later on.

To sum up, Simcoe was transferred from the North American military staff on 29 November 1796, ceased to be colonel of a provincial corps on 18 January 1798, and resigned as lieutenant-governor in the first month or so of 1798."

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Joseph Earl Arrington of New York City, a graduate of the Universities of Utah and Chicago, is making a study of the American panorama movement and has published a number of articles based upon his researches in this field.

George F. G. Stanley is Professor and Head of the Department of History at Royal Military College in Kingston. A graduate of the University of Alberta and of Oxford University, he has numerous important contributions to Canadian historical studies to his credit.

David Lee completed his studies in the Modern History and Modern Language course at the University of Toronto this spring and is proceeding to postgraduate work at Cambridge University on a fellowship.

Kenneth A. MacKirdy is a graduate of the Universities of British Columbia and Toronto and Assistant-Professor of History at the University of Washington, Seattle. The present article is a byproduct of a study of the forces of regionalism in the British Commonwealth.

Kildare Dobbs, a graduate of Jesus College, Cambridge, is Senior Editor at The Macmillan Company of Canada, Toronto.

DOCTOR GEORGE F. MACDONALD

George Fortune Macdonald, veteran member of the Ontario Historical Society and its President from 1932 to 1934, died in Metropolitan General Hospital, Windsor, on Wednesday, August 12th, in his 82nd year. A native of Windsor and the son of Scottish parents, he inherited marked business ability and had long been the head of the large Windsor mercantile firm of Bartlet, Macdonald and Gow Limited. Apart from his business Dr. Macdonald (Assumption University conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in June 1954) found his keenest interest in the investigation and recording of the history of the County of Essex. Over the years he gathered an enormous collection of documentary and other material in this field and it was his dream that this might find its home in the Baby House, built in 1811 and a Windsor historical treasure. He worked ardently for the preservation of this building and saw his dream realized when the Baby House, restored and adequately furnished, was opened as the Hiram Walker Historical Museum in May, 1958. There the Macdonald Collections are housed, available for the use of students and investigators.

Dr. Macdonald was a warm supporter of every cultural movement in his city. He was a member of the Public Library Board from 1922 to 1932, and was active in the founding of the Essex County Historical Society in 1904. He was a member of the Detroit Historical Society and the Michigan Historical Society and was one of the founders of the Algonquin Club, made up of Detroit and Windsor citizens interested in local history. The sympathy of members of the Ontario Historical Society will go to Mrs. Macdonald who was, with her husband, a regular attendant at annual meetings of the Society. —*Fred Landon*

THE ETOBICOKE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

An interesting and detailed report has been received concerning the activities of this newest of our affiliated societies during the first year of its existence following its formation in May 1958. A number of general meetings have been held, speakers at which included Dr. Carl F. Klinck on the role of the local historical society, Dr. W. S. Wallace on the historians of old Toronto, M. Jules Beauroy on the Society's Brulé Project, Mr. Frank Ridley on the archaeology of the Lake Nipissing area, and Mr. J. D. Orr on the life of J. P. Delahaye, a former master of Upper Canada College. The Society plans to erect a statue at the mouth of the Humber River to Etienne Brulé and to publish a study of the village of Islington in 1858. Through the generosity of the Etobicoke Township Council the Society has been granted a headquarters at the James Gardens, where it is hoped eventually to establish a museum. The membership in May 1959 numbered 79 ordinary members, 2 life members and 9 honorary members. Mr. Frank R. Longstaff is President and the Secretary-Treasurer is Mr. E. W. Anderson.

THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Ontario Historical Society was organized on September 4, 1888 under the title of 'The Pioneer and Historical Association of the Province of Ontario' and adopted its present name in 1898. Its object is to develop the study of history, particularly that of Ontario.

Beginning in 1899 a volume of *Papers & Records* has been published nearly every year. These volumes, I to XXXIX, contain a vast amount of information about the history of the Province. Several volumes now are out of print, but the rest are available at $4 per cloth-bound volume and $2 for those with paper covers. In 1947 the name of the publication was changed to *Ontario History* and since the beginning of 1949 it has appeared in quarterly form. *Ontario History* is sent free to all members, and issues of previous years are available at $1 per number or $3 per volume of four issues. Several special volumes of documentary material also are available, including the first three volumes of the Ontario Local Histories Series, "The Valley of the Trent" by E. C. Guillet; "Royal Fort Frontenac" by R. A. Preston and L. Lamontagne; and "Kingston Before the War of 1812" by R. A. Preston—each $3.50 to members.

General meetings of the Society have been held annually in various centres in the province. These meetings have enabled members to meet with others who are particularly interested in local and provincial history, and to visit many of the historic spots in Ontario.

The several classes of membership are: corporate, $3 a year, sustaining $10 a year, family $5, and annual, $3. Life memberships are $50. Membership is open to all societies and individuals interested in the history of Ontario. Fees should be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5.

The Executive Committee is: President, Professor J. M. S. Careless, Toronto; First Vice-President, Dr. R. A. Preston, Kingston; Second Vice-President, Mr. A. D. McFall, Toronto; Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Edna Ash, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5; Immediate Past-President, Mr. John M. Gray, Toronto; Additional Members—Mr. Andrew Taylor, Galt; Dr. A. S. Hardy Hill, Richmond Hill; Miss Mabel Stewart, Guelph; Miss Mary Farmer, Hamilton; Dr. Ralph Honey, Peterborough; Mr. W. H. Schmalz, Kitchener; Dr. J. F. Morton, Southampton, and Professor Morris Zaslow (Editor, *Ontario History*).

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND MUSEUMS IN ONTARIO

affiliated with The Ontario Historical Society

27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5.

Ancaster Twp. Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Mr. Wm. C. Whitfield, R.R. 3, Dundas.
Brant Historical Society. Sec., Mr. H. W. Hill, 17 Hawarden Avenue, Brantford.
Bruce County Historical Museum. Sec.-Treas., Mrs. T. J. Cornish, Box 446, Chesley.
Bruce County Historical Society. Sec., Mrs. George Downey, Eskdale Farms, Tiverton.
Dufferin Area Historical Association. Sec., Mrs. Russell Turnbull, Mono Centre.
Dundas Historical Society. Sec., Mrs. H. H. Pirie, 133 Park St. West, Dundas.
Essex County Historical Association. Sec., K. H. D. Hall, 451 Park St. West, Windsor.
Etobicoke Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Mr. E. W. Anderson, 14 Delroy Drive, Toronto 18.
Essex Historical Society. Dr. G. F. Macdonald, Box 187, Windsor.
Fenelon Falls and District Historical Society. Corr.-Sec'y, Miss Bessie Nie, Fenelon Falls.
Fort Erie Historical Society. Cor. Sec., Mrs. S. H. Raymond, Fort Erie, Ont.
Grey County Historical and Art Society. Sec., William McLernon, 994 First Ave. East, Owen Sound.
Grimsby Historical Society. Cor. Sec., Miss C. Freshwater, Box 241, Grimsby.
Haldimand Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Mrs. E. Jones, Cayuga.
Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society. Sec., Miss Mary H. Farmer, 83 Charlton Avenue West, Hamilton, Ontario.
Hastings County Historical Society. Sec., Miss Helen Fraleck, 113 Moira St. West, Belleville.
Hiram Walker Historical Museum. Curator, Mr. R. Alan Douglas, 254 Pitt St. West, Windsor.
Historical Society of Ottawa Sec., Miss Mabel M. Stewart, 465 Tweedsmuir Ave., Ottawa.
Huron Institute.
Huronia Historic Sites and Tourist Association. Sec., Barry C. Hughes, Midland.
Jordan Historical Museum of the Twenty. Sec., Barbara Coffman, Jordan.
Kent Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Mrs. James Huff, R.R. 5, Chatham.
Kingston Historical Society. Sec., Dr. G. F. G. Stanley, Royal Military College, Kingston.
Lennox and Addington Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Miss Lepha A. Woods, Napanee.
Lincoln County Historical Society. Sec., Miss K. E. Duff, 52½ Thomas Street, St. Catharines.
London and Middlesex Historical Society. Sec., Miss Helen Mason, 540 Colborne St., London, Ont.
Lundy's Lane Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Miss Adeline Hanna, 1795 Byng Ave., Niagara Falls, Ontario.
Macnab Historical Association. Sec., Miss Hilda M. Ridley, Foleyet.
Niagara Historical Society. Miss Marjorie Ball, Niagara-on-the-Lake.
Norfolk Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Miss Grace King, Simcoe.
Norwich Pioneers Historical Society. Sec., Mrs. N. Lees, Norwich.
Oakville Historical Society. Sec., Mrs. Ross Blaikie, 63 Navy Street South, Oakville, Ontario.
Orillia Historical Society.
Oshawa and District Historical Society. Sec., Mr. L. R. Barrand, 50 Centre St., Oshawa.
Ottawa Valley Historical Society. Corr.-Sec., Mr. Murray Mathieson, 301 Alfred St., Pembroke.
Oxford Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Mrs. W. R. Ward, 770 Dundas St., Woodstock.
Oxford Museum. City Hall, Woodstock.
Parry Sound Historical Society. Sec., Mr Adam M. Brown, Box 82, Parry Sound.
Pennsylvania German Folklore Society of Ontario. Sec., L. B. Weber, Waterloo University, Waterloo, Ont.
Peterborough City and County Historical Society. Sec., Mrs. R. G. Maniece, R.R. 9, Peterborough, Ont.
Port Hope and District Historical Society.
Scarborough Township Historical Society. Sec., Mrs. R. Gilbank, 2001 Eglinton Ave. East, Scarborough.
Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Historical Society. Sec., Miss E. Dewar, Public Library, Cornwall.
Thunder Bay Historical Society. Sec., Mrs. Jessie Dale, The Public Library, South Brodie St., Fort William.
U.E.L. Assn., Gov. Simcoe Branch—Corr. Sec'y, Mr. Macaulay Pope, 521 Briar Hill Avenue, Toronto 12.
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Victoria County Historical Society. Corr.-Sec., Miss B. Coulter, 66 Colborne St. West, Lindsay.
Waterloo Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Mrs. William R. Hall, 58 Van Camp Ave., Kitchener.
Welland County Historical Society. Sec., Miss S. E. Oille, 76 Aqueduct Street, Welland.
Wellington County Historical Research Society. Sec., Mrs. H. M. Warren, Elora.
Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto. Cor. Sec., Mrs. W. K. Macknight, 50 Felbrigg Ave., Toronto 12.
Women's Wentworth Historical Society. Sec., Mrs. George C. Gage, 248 Park St. S., Hamilton.
York Pioneer and Historical Society. Sec., Miss Marion Keffer, 3297 Yonge Street, Toronto 12.